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THE WORKS

OF

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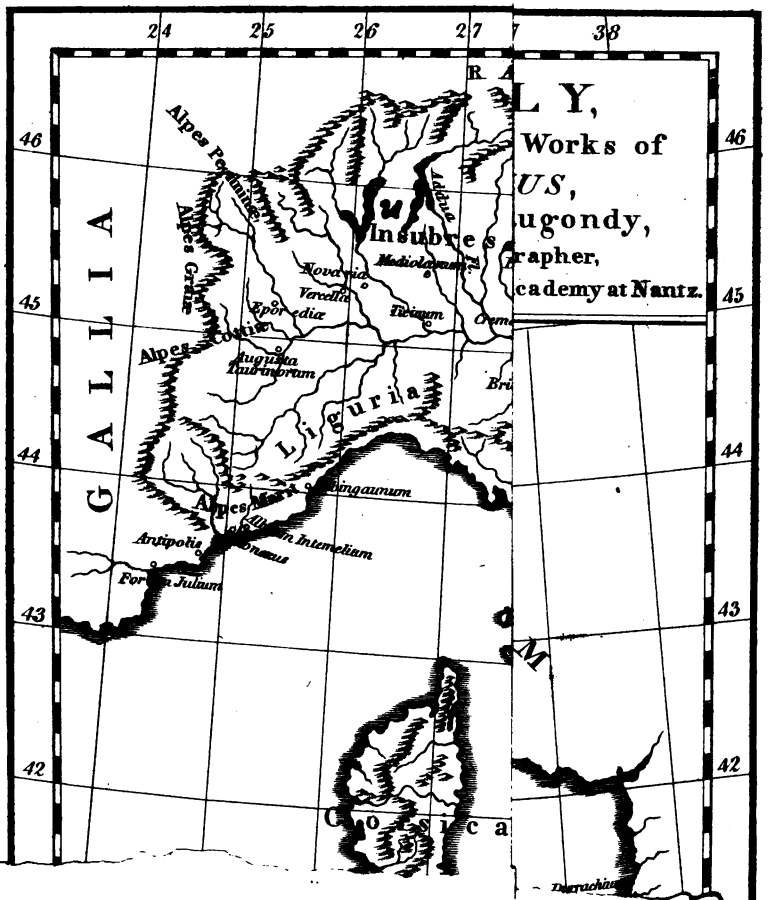

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THE

WORKS

OF

CORNELIUS TACITUS:

WITH AN

ESSAY ON HIS LIFE AND GENIUS,

NOTES, SUPPLEMENTS, &c.

BY

ARTHUR MURPHY, ESQ.

Præcipuum munus annalium reor, ne virtutes sileantur, utque pravis dictis factisque ex posteritate et infamiâ metus sit.

TACITUS, Annales, iii. a. 65.

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THE

HISTORY

OF

TACITUS.

BOOK I.

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These transactions passed in a few months.

Years of Rome,	Of Christ,	Consuls.
822	69	Servius Galba, 2d time, Titus Vinius Rufinus.

THE

HISTORY

OF

TACITUS.

BOOK I.

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I. THE æra, from which it is my intention to deduce the following narration, is the second consulship of Servius Galba, when Titus Vinius was his colleague in office. Of the antecedent period, including a space of eight hundred and twenty years (*a*) from the foundation of Rome, the history has been composed by various authors, who, as long as they had before them the transactions (*b*) of the Roman people, dignified their work with eloquence equal to the subject, and a spirit of freedom worthy of the old republic. After the battle of Actium, when, to close the scene of civil distraction, all power and authority were surrendered to a single ruler, the historic character disappeared, and genius died by the same blow that ended public liberty. Truth was reduced to the last gasp, and various circumstances conspired against her. A new consti-

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tution took place, undefined, and little understood. Men resigned their rights, and lived like aliens in their native country. Adulation began to spread her baneful influence, and a rooted hatred of their ambitious masters rankled in the breast of numbers. Between both parties, one paying their court, and the other brooding over public injuries, the care of transmitting due information to posterity was utterly lost. It is true, that, against the seductions of the time-serving writer you may be upon your guard; but, on the other hand, spleen and calumny are devoured with a greedy ear. Flattery wears a badge of servitude, while malignity speaks the tone of independence, and is therefore well received. With regard to the writer of the following work, he can with truth aver, that Galba, Otho, and Vitellius were neither known to him by marks of favour, nor by personal injury. The foundation of his fortune (*c*) was laid by Vespasian, advanced by Titus, and carried higher by Domitian. The fact must not be dissembled; but the historian, who enters on his office with a profession of integrity, must not desert the cause of truth. No character should be touched with partiality; none should be disfigured by passion, or resentment. Of Nerva and Trajan (*d*), if my health continues, it is my design to compose the history; it is a favourite plan, rich in materials, and every way safe. I have reserved it for the evening of my days; a glorious period! in which, through the rare felicity of the times, a man may think with freedom, and what he thinks he may publish to the world.

II. The subject now before me presents a series of great events, and battles fierce and bloody; a portion of time big with intestine divisions, and even the intervals of peace deformed with cruelty and horror: the whole a tragic volume, displaying, in succession, four princes (*a*) put to death; three civil wars (*b*); with foreign enemies a greater number, and, in some conjunctures, both depending at once; prosperity in the East, disasters in the West; Illyricum thrown into convulsions; both the Gauls on the eve of a revolt; Britain (*c*) conquered, and, in the moment of conquest, lost again; the Sarmatians and the Suevians (*d*) leagued against the Romans; the Dacian name ennobled by alternate victory and defeat; and, finally, the Parthians taking the field under the banners of a pretended Nero (*e*). In the course of the work, we shall see Italy overwhelmed with calamities; new wounds inflicted, and the old, which time had closed, opened again and bleeding afresh; cities sacked by the enemy, or swallowed up by earthquakes (*f*), and the fertile country of Campania made a scene of desolation; Rome laid waste by fire; her ancient and most venerable temples smoking on the ground; the capitol (*g*) wrapt in flames by the hands of frantic citizens; the holy ceremonies of religion violated; adultery reigning without controul; the adjacent islands filled with exiles; rocks and desert places stained with clandestine murder, and Rome itself a theatre of horror; where nobility of descent, and splendour of fortune, marked men out for destruction; where the vigour of mind that aimed at civil dignities, and the mo-

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desty that declined them, were offences without distinction; where virtue was a crime that led to certain ruin; where the guilt of informers, and the wages of their iniquity, were alike detestable; where the sacerdotal order, the consular dignity, the government of provinces (*h*), and even the cabinet of the prince, were seized by that execrable race, as their lawful prey; where nothing was sacred, nothing safe from the hand of rapacity; where slaves were suborned, or, by their own malevolence, excited against their masters; where freedmen betrayed their patrons; and he, who had lived without an enemy (*i*), died by the treachery of a friend.

III. And yet this melancholy period, barren as it was of public virtue, produced some examples of truth and honour. Mothers went with their sons into voluntary exile; wives followed the fortune of their husbands; relations stood forth in the cause of their unhappy kindred; sons appeared in defence of their fathers; slaves on the rack gave proofs of their fidelity; eminent citizens, under the hard hand of oppression, were reduced to want and misery, and, even in that distress, retained an unconquered spirit. We shall see others firm to the last, and, in their deaths, nothing inferior to the applauded characters of antiquity. In addition to the misfortunes usual in the course of human transactions, we shall see the earth teeming with prodigies, the sky overcast with omens, thunder rolling with dreadful denunciation, and a variety of prognostics, sometimes auspicious, often big with terror, occasionally uncertain, dark,

equivocal, frequently direct and manifest. In a word, the gods never gave such terrible instructions, nor, by the slaughter of armies, made it so clear and evident, that, instead of extending protection (*a*) to the empire, it was their awful pleasure to let fall their vengeance on the crimes of an offending people.

IV. Before we take up the thread of our narrative, it will not be useless to enquire what, in that period, was the state of affairs at Rome, and what the spirit that went forth among her armies; how the provinces stood affected, and wherein consisted the strength or weakness of the empire. By proceeding in this manner, we shall not content ourselves with a bare recital of facts, which are often ascribed to chance; we shall see the spring of each transaction, and a regular chain of causes and effects will be laid open to our view.

The death of Nero, in the first tumult of emotion, was considered as a public blessing; but the senate, the people of Rome, the prætorian guards, and the legions, wherever stationed, were variously affected by that event. A new political secret was then for the first time discovered. It was perceived, that elsewhere than at Rome an emperor might be invested with the sovereign power. The fathers seized the opportunity, during the absence of a prince yet new (*a*) to the reins of government, to exercise their ancient rights, pleased with the novelty of freedom, and the resumption of their legislative authority. The Roman knights caught the flame of liberty.

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Honest men began to entertain hopes of the constitution. Such as stood connected with families of credit, and the various clients and freedmen of illustrious men driven into exile, were all erect with expectation of better times. The inferior populace, who loitered away their time in the theatre and the circus; the slaves of abandoned characters, and the sycophant crew, who, without substance of their own, had been pampered by the vices of Nero; all of that description stood covered with astonishment, yet panting for news, and eagerly swallowing the rumour of the day.

V. The prætorian guards (*a*) had been, by habit and the obligation of their oath, always devoted to the imperial family. Their revolt from Nero was not so much their own inclination as the management of their leaders. Acting without principle, they now were ready for new commotions. The promise of a donative in the name of Galba was still to be performed. They knew that war is the soldier's harvest. Peace affords no opportunity to gain the recompense due to valour; and the favours of the new prince would be engrossed by the legions, to whom he owed his elevation. Fired by these reflections, and further instigated by the arts of Nymphidius Sabinus (*b*), their commanding officer, whose ambition aimed at the imperial dignity, they began to meditate a second revolution.

The conspiracy was crushed in the bud, and Nymphidius perished in the attempt. But the soldiers had thrown off the mask, and the sense of guilt

served only to goad and spur their resolution. They talked of Galba with contempt and ridicule; they laughed at his advanced age; they inveighed against his avarice; and the rigorous discipline (*c*) by which he had acquired his military character, inflamed the prejudices of men, who had been enervated by a long peace of fourteen years. During that time, the dissolute manners of Nero diffused a general corruption, insomuch that the virtues, which formerly gained the affection of the army, were fallen into contempt. Nero was endeared to the soldiers by his vices. Galba, on the contrary, was rendered unpopular by the austerity of his manners. He was used to say, that he chose his soldiers, but never bought them. The maxim was worthy of the old republic, but no man thought it an effusion from the heart. His conduct and his words were too much at variance.

VI. Galba, being now in the decline of life, resigned himself altogether to Titus Vinius (*a*) and Cornelius Laco; the former the most profligate of men, and the latter despised for his sluggish inactivity. By those pernicious ministers he was involved in the popular hatred due to their own flagitious deeds. The wickedness of Vinius, and the incapacity of Laco, proved his ruin in the end. He made his approach to Rome (*b*) by slow journeys, in his progress marking his way with blood and cruelty. Cingonius Varro, consul elect, and Petronius Turpilianus, of consular rank, were, by his orders, put to death; the former, as an accomplice in the enterprise of Nymphidius, and the latter, because he had

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been appointed to command the army under Nero. They were condemned unheard, and, for that reason, thought the innocent victims of a barbarous policy.

Galba's entry (*c*) into the city of Rome, after the massacre of several thousands of unarmed and defenceless soldiers, struck a general panic. The people at large were thrown into consternation, and even the men, who executed the orders of their general, stood astonished at the horrors of the scene. Rome, at that time, was filled with a prodigious body of troops, assembled from various parts of the empire. Besides the forces drawn from the fleet (*d*), and left as a garrison by Nero, Galba, when he entered the city, brought with him a legion from Spain. To these must be added the (*e*) several companies from Germany, from Britain, and Illyricum, which had been sent forward towards the Caspian straits (*f*), to serve in the war then intended against the Albanians. In a short time afterwards, on the first notice of the revolt excited in Gaul by the turbulent genius of Vindex (*g*), they were all recalled; and the consequence was, that Rome saw within her walls the unusual spectacle of a vast military force. In so large a number of soldiers, not yet devoted to the interest of a single leader, the seed-plots of a new rebellion were prepared, and ready to break out on the first alarm.

VII. It happened, at this point of time, that an account arrived of two murders, committed at a distance from Rome; one of Clodius Macer in Africa, and the other of Fonteius Capito (*a*) in Germany.

Macer, beyond all doubt, was engaged in schemes of ambition, and, in the midst of his projects, was cut off by Trebonius Garrucianus, the procurator of the province, who had received his orders from Galba. Capito was put to death by Cornelius Aquinus and Fabius Valens, on a like suspicion of plotting innovations in the state. But the charge against him was by no means clear, nor had the emperor issued his orders. The general opinion was, that Capito, however branded with avarice, rapacity, and other vices, had not added to his crimes the guilt of rebellion; but that the authors of his destruction, having first endeavoured to draw him into their own designs, combined to execute on an innocent victim the vengeance due to their own iniquity.

Galba, with his usual facility, or, perhaps, wishing to avoid the danger of an inquiry into what could not be recalled, thought it prudent to give his sanction to the acts of his officers, however unjust and cruel. Both executions were, notwithstanding, the subject of public clamour; the usual fate of all unpopular princes: their actions, when the current of the times is set against them, are taken in the gross, and, whether good or evil, condemned without distinction. Venality and corruption were now fully established. The emperor's freedmen engrossed the whole power of the state, and every thing was put up to sale. Even the slaves, in haste to grow rich, and fearing the uncertainty of an old man's life, began to seize their share of the plunder. The new court opened with all the vices of Nero's reign, but without the same apology. The advanced age (*b*) of Galba was

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a subject of ridicule. Dissipation, at his time of life, excited laughter and contempt. Appearances are the reasons of the populace: they were accustomed to the youthful frolics of Nero, and, in their comparison of princes, elegance of figure and the graces of deportment are decisive qualities.

VIII. Such was the posture of affairs at Rome, and such the sentiments that pervaded the mass of the people. With regard to the provinces, Spain was governed by Cluvius Rufus (*a*), a man distinguished by his eloquence, and well accomplished in the arts of peace, but of no reputation in war. In both the Gauls, the name of Vindex was still held in veneration; and the people, pleased with their recent admission to the freedom (*b*) of Rome, and the diminution of their tribute, showed no symptoms of disaffection. In those parts, however, which lay contiguous to the German armies, the inhabitants of the several cities saw, with discontent, that they were not thought worthy of the like indulgence. Some of them complained that their territories were circumscribed within narrower limits; and, in vulgar minds, the good extended to others was an aggravation of the injury done to themselves.

The legions in Germany did not shew a countenance that promised a perfect calm. The restless temper of the soldiers, by their late victory (*c*) flushed with pride, yet dreading the imputation of having conquered Galba's party, was thrown into violent agitations, by turns inflamed with rage, and overwhelmed with fear. From such a number of

soldiers, who had the power of the sword in their own hands, nothing but danger was to be apprehended. They balanced for some time, before they detached themselves from Nero; nor did Verginius, their commanding officer, declare immediately for Galba. Whether that tardy movement was occasioned by his own ambitious projects, cannot now be known. The soldiers, it is certain, made him a tender of the imperial dignity. The death of Fonteius Capito was another cause of discontent. Even such as could not deny the justice of the measure, exclaimed against it with indignation. While the minds of men were thus distracted with contending passions, Galba thought fit, under a shew of friendship, to recal Verginius (*d*) from his post. The legions had now no chief at their head, and, if the conduct of their general was arraigned, they considered themselves as men involved in the same accusation.

IX. The legions on the Upper Rhine were ill retained in their duty by Hordeonius Flaccus, an officer far advanced in years, without vigour of mind, disabled in his limbs, and, by his infirmities, exposing himself and old age to scorn. Unequal to the command even in quiet times, he was now, in a camp full of bold and turbulent spirits, unable to support his authority. His endeavours to enforce obedience served only to irritate the minds of men disposed to mutiny. On the Lower Rhine, the army had been for some time without a general of consular rank, till Aulus Vitellius (*a*), son of the person

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of that name who had been censor, and three times consul, was sent by Galba to take upon him the command. This to Galba seemed sufficient, and the Fates (*b*) ordained it.

In Britain every thing was quiet. The legions stationed in that island had no party-divisions to distract them. During the civil wars that followed, they took no part in the contest. Situated at a distance, and divided by the ocean from the rest of the world, they did not catch the epidemic phrensy of the times. They knew no enemies but those of their country, and were not taught by civil discord to hate one another. Illyricum remained in a state of tranquillity, though the legions drawn by Nero from that country found the means, while they loitered in Italy, of tampering with Verginius. But the armies were at distant stations, separated by a long tract of sea or land; and that circumstance proved the best expedient to prevent a combination of the military. They could neither act with a spirit of union, nor, by communicating their vices, spread a general infection through the legions that lay remote from each other.

X. The East was hitherto free from commotion. Licinius Mucianus governed the province of Syria with four legions under his command. He was an officer of experience, distinguished, in the early parts of his life, by alternate vicissitudes of good and evil fortune. In his youth the favour of the great was the object of his ambition, and in that pursuit he wasted his fortune. His circumstances growing des-

perate, and a storm impending from the displeasure of Claudius, he retired into Asia, and there lived in obscurity, as little removed from the state and condition of a real exile, as he was afterwards from the splendor of imperial fortune. He united in his character a rare and wonderful mixture of repugnant qualities. He was affable and arrogant; addicted to pleasure, and by fits and starts a man of business. When at leisure from affairs, he gave a loose to his luxurious passions; if his interest required it, he came upon mankind with superior talents. The minister was praised, and the private man detested. The art of conciliating the good will of others was his in an eminent degree. With his inferiors he knew how to soften authority; to his friends and equals his address was courtly; and yet, with these attractive arts, a man so various was fitter to raise others to the imperial dignity, than to obtain it for himself.

The war against the Jews had been committed by Nero to Flavius Vespasian, who was then in Judæa at the head of three legions. That commander had formed no design, nor even a wish, against the interest of Galba. He sent his son Titus to Rome, as will be seen hereafter (*a*), with congratulations to Galba, and assurances of fidelity. It was not then perceived that the sovereign power was destined, by the decrees of Heaven, for Vespasian and his two sons. After his accession, portents and prodigies, and the responses of oracles, were better understood.

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XI. Egypt, and the forces stationed there to bridle the several provinces, were, according to the system established by Augustus, confided to the Roman knights, who exercised all the powers of the ancient kings. In order to keep in subjection a country difficult of access, and at the same time a granary of corn; where the genius of the people (*a*), deeply tinged with superstition, was ever wavering, and prone to change; where there was no plan of regular government, and, by consequence, no respect paid to the civil magistrate; it was the policy of Augustus to retain the administration, like a mystery of state, in his own hands, and under his own cabinet council. In the present juncture (*b*), Tiberius Alexander, a native of the country, was intrusted with the government of the province.

Africa, and the legions quartered there, were, since the murder of Clodius Macer, grown indifferent to all modes of government. Having experienced the authority of an inferior master, they were willing to submit to any prince. The two Mauritanias (*c*), Rætia, Noricum, and Thrace, with the places committed to the care of imperial procurators, had no fixed principle, no hatred, and no affection, but what was inspired by the force nearest at hand. They were always united in opinion with the strongest. The provinces, which were left naked and defenceless, and Italy in particular, were open to the first invader, the ready prey of any conqueror. Such was the situation of the Roman world, when Servius Galba, in his second consulship, and Titus Vinius, his colleague, began their year; a fatal year,

which brought them both to a tragic catastrophe, and the commonwealth to the brink of ruin.

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XII. In a few days after the calends of January, letters arrived at Rome from Pompeius Propinquus, the procurator of Belgic Gaul (*a*), with intelligence of a revolt in Upper Germany. The legions in that quarter, disregarding the obligation of their oath, shook off all obedience, and demanded another emperor; willing, however, to soften the violence of their proceedings, and, for that purpose, to leave the choice to the judgment of the senate, and the Roman people. The use that Galba made of this intelligence was, to hasten the adoption of a successor; a point which he had for some time revolved in his mind, and often discussed with his secret advisers. During the few months of his reign, no subject had so much engrossed the public conversation. The people, always politicians, and fond of settling state affairs, gave a loose to their usual freedom of speech; and, besides, an emperor on the verge of life made it natural to advert to the succession. Few were able to think with judgment, and fewer had the virtue to feel for the public good. Private views and party connexions suggested various candidates. Different factions were formed, and all intrigued, caballed, and clamoured, as their hopes or fears directed. Titus Vinius did not escape the notice of the public. He grew in power every day, and the hatred of the people kept pace with his rising grandeur. In the sudden elevation of Galba, this man and his adherents, with all the creatures of the court,

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saw their opportunity to enrich themselves with the spoils of their country; and, encouraged as they were by the facility of a weak, a credulous, and superannuated prince, they were resolved to lose no time. In such a period the temptation was great, and guilt might hope to plunder with impunity.

XIII. The whole sovereign power was in the hands of Titus Vinius, the consul, and Cornelius Laco, the præfect of the prætorian guards. A third favourite soon appeared on the political stage, with a degree of influence not inferior to either of the former. The name of this man was Icelus (*a*), one of the emperor's freedmen, lately created a Roman knight, and, to suit his new dignity, honoured with the name of Martianus. The three confidential ministers were soon at variance. They clashed in interest, and, in all inferior transactions, drew different ways; but in the choice of a successor they were divided into two factions. Vinius declared for Marcus Otho: Laco and Icelus joined in opposition to that measure, not so much to favour a friend of their own, as to thwart the designs of a rival. Galba was not to learn the close connection that subsisted between Vinius and Otho. The busy politicians, who love to pry into every thing, and divulge all they know, and all they think, had circulated a report that reached the ear of the emperor. Vinius had a daughter, at that time a widow; Otho was unmarried, and a match between them would make the minister the father-in-law of his future emperor.

Galba resolved to act with caution, and with due

regard to the public welfare. He saw the sovereign power wrested out of the hands of Nero, but wrested in vain, if transferred to a man like Otho; a stranger, from his earliest days, to every fair pursuit, and in the prime of manhood distinguished by nothing but riot and debauchery. It was his taste for luxury and vicious pleasures that first recommended him to the notice of Nero. He vied with his master in all kinds of dissipation, and, in consequence of that connection, became the worthy depositary to whom the prince intrusted the care of his dearly beloved Poppæa (*b*), till such time as Octavia was, by a divorce, removed out of the way. But Otho's fidelity soon became suspected. Nero's jealousy could not bear a rival. He sent his favourite companion to govern the province of Lusitania, and, under that pretext, banished him from Rome. It is true that Otho, in the course of his administration, gained, by his mild and courtly manners, no small degree of popularity. In the late revolution, he was the first to espouse the interest of Galba. While the war lasted, he continued an active partisan, and, by his splendid appearance, did no small credit to the cause. Hence his hopes of being called to the succession. The soldiers favoured his pretensions; and the creatures of Nero's court promised themselves, under a sovereign so nearly resembling their master, a return of the same vices.

XIV. Galba saw, with deep anxiety, a storm gathering in Germany, and where it would burst he could not foresee. Of Vitellius and his designs

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no certain account arrived. The revolt of the legions filled him with apprehensions, and he reposed no confidence in the prætorian guards. The nomination of a successor seemed, in such a crisis, to be the best expedient; and for that purpose he held a cabinet council. Besides Vinius and Laco, he thought proper to summon Marius Celsus, consul elect, and Ducennius Geminus, the præfect of the city. Having prefaced the business in a short speech concerning his age and infirmities, he sent for Piso Licinianus (a); whether of his own free choice, or at the instigation of Laco, remains uncertain. That minister had lived in friendship with Piso. He contracted an intimacy with him at the house of Rubellius Plautus, though he had now the address to conceal that connection, affecting, with public motives, to recommend a stranger. To this conduct, the fair esteem, in which Piso was held, gave an appearance of sincerity. Piso was the son of Marcus Crassus and Scribonia, both of illustrious descent. His aspect was grave, and his deportment formal; such as gave an idea of primitive manners. By the candid and impartial he was called strict and severe; by his enemies, morose and sullen. With great excellencies, he had a mixture of those qualities that are often the shades of eminent virtue; but those very shades, which seemed to others too dark and gloomy, in the eyes of Galba were the strokes of character, that gave Piso a cast of antiquity, and made him worthy to be the adopted heir to the empire.

XV. Galba, we are told, taking Piso by the hand, addressed him in the following manner: "If the "adoption which I am now to make, were, like the "act of a private citizen, to be acknowledged, as "the law *Curiata* (a) directs, in the presence of the "pontiffs, I should derive honour to myself from an "alliance with a person descended from the great "Pompey and Marcus Crassus; and, in return, "you would add to the nobility of your own family "the lustre of the Sulpician and Lutatian name. I "now address you in a more exalted character. It "is the emperor of Rome that speaks. Called by "the consent of gods and men to that high sta-"tion, I am now determined in my choice by your "rare accomplishments, and the love I feel for my "country. I invite you to the imperial dignity; that "dignity for which our ancestors led armies to the "field, and which I myself obtained in battle. With-"out your stir I now make to you a voluntary offer. "For this proceeding I have before me the example "of Augustus, who associated to himself, first his "sister's son Marcellus, and then Agrippa his son-"in-law, his grandsons afterwards, and, finally, Ti-"berius, the son of his wife. Augustus, indeed, "looked for an heir in his own family; I choose in "the bosom of the commonwealth. If, upon such "an occasion, I could listen to private affection, I "have a numerous train of relations, and I have "companions in war. But it was not from motives "of pride that I accepted the sovereignty of the "state: ambition had no share in my conduct. I "brought with me to the seat of government an

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"upright intention; and that I now act on the "same principle may be fairly seen, when, in my "present choice, I postpone not only my own relations, but even those of your own family. You "have a brother, in point of nobility your equal; "by priority of birth your superior; and, if your "merit did not supersede him, a man worthy of the "highest elevation.

"You are now at the time of life at which the "passions subside. Your former conduct requires "no apology. Fortune has hitherto (*b*) frowned "upon you: you must now beware of her smiles. "Prosperity tries the human heart with the deepest "probe, and draws forth the hidden character. We "struggle with adversity, but success disarms us. "I trust, however, that you will carry with you, to "the highest station, the candour of your mind, "your good faith, your independent spirit, and "your constancy in friendship; virtues that exalt "and dignify the human character; but the arts "of insidious men will lay siege to your best "qualities, and undermine them all. Dissimulation "will deceive you; flattery will find admission to "your heart; and self-interest, the bane of all true "affection, will lay snares to seduce your integrity. "To-day you and I converse without disguise, in "terms of plain simplicity: how will others deal "with us? Their respect will be paid to our fortunes, not to ourselves. To talk the language of "sincerity to a prince, and guide him by honest "councils, is a laborious task: to play the hypocrite "requires no more than to humour his inclinations,

"whatever they are. It is the grimace of friendship: "the heart has no share in the business.

XVI. "If the mighty fabric of this great empire "could subsist on any other foundation than that of "a monarchy, the glory of restoring the old republic "should this day be mine. But, at my age, all that "remains for me is to bequeath to the people an "able successor: your youth may give them a vir-"tuous prince. Under Tiberius, Caligula, and Clau-"dius, we were all the property of one family. By "hereditary right the Roman world was theirs. The "prince is now elective, and the freedom of choice "is liberty. The Julian and the Claudian race are "both extinct, and virtue may now succeed by "adoption. To be born the son of a prince is the "result of chance; mankind consider it in no higher "light. The method of adoption allows time to de-"liberate, and the public voice will serve as a guide "to direct the judgment of the emperor. Let Nero "be for ever before your eyes: proud of his long "line of ancestors, and warm with the blood of "the Cæsars, he did not fall by the revolt of Vin-"dex, at the head of a province naked and disarmed; "nor was he deposed by me, who had only one le-"gion under my command: his own vices, his own "cruelty hurled him from his throne, no more to "trample on the necks of mankind. Of a prince "condemned by a public sentence, there was till "then no example.

"As to myself, raised as I was by the events of "war, and called to the sovereignty by the voice of

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"a willing people, I know what I have to expect: "envy and malice may pursue me, but the glory of "doing good shall still be mine. After the storm "that lately shook the empire, you will not wonder "that a perfect calm has not succeeded; and, if two "legions waver in their duty, your courage must "not be disconcerted. My reign did not begin in the "halcyon days of peace. Old age, at present, is the "objection urged against me: but when it is known "whom I have adopted, I shall appear young in my "successor. Nero is still regretted by the vile and "profligate: that good men may not regret him, "it will be ours to provide by our future conduct. "More than I have said the time will not admit; if "I have made a proper choice, I have discharged "my duty. One rule, however, there is worthy of "your consideration. In all questions of good and "evil, ask yourself, when you was a subject, what "did you expect from the prince, and what did you "wish him to avoid? It is not at Rome as in despo-"tic governments, where one family towers above "mankind, and their subjects groan in bondage. "You are to reign over the Roman people; a peo-"ple whom no extreme will suit; when in full pos-"session of liberty, enemies to their own happiness; "when reduced to slavery, impatient of the yoke." To this effect Galba delivered himself, little doubting but that he was then creating a prince: the courtiers considered it as a complete legal act, and paid their homage to their future sovereign.

XVII. During the whole of this solemn transac-

tion, Piso, we are told, never lost the even tenor of his mind. From the first moment all eyes were fixed upon him; yet, on his part, no emotion was seen, no symptom of joy, no surprise, no confusion. He addressed the emperor, now his father, in terms of profound respect, and spoke of himself with reserve and modesty. His mien and countenance never betrayed the smallest inward alteration. He behaved with the apathy of a man who deserved to reign, but did not desire it. The next consideration was, in what place the adoption should be announced; in the forum before an assembly of the people, in the senate, or in the camp. The latter was thought most eligible: the army would feel the compliment; the affections of the soldiers, though of little value if purchased by bribery and low intrigue, are, notwithstanding, when they are gained by fair and honourable means, always of moment, and never to be neglected. Meanwhile, the populace rushing in crowds from every quarter, surrounded the palace, burning with impatience for the important news, and growing still more eager in proportion to the delay of the profound politicians, who affected an air of mystery, when the secret had already transpired.

XVIII. On the fourth of the ides of January the weather was uncommonly tempestuous, accompanied with heavy rains, thunder and lightning, and all the uproar of the elements, which usually alarms the superstition of the multitude. In ancient times this phænomenon would have been sufficient (*a*) to

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dissolve all public assemblies; but Galba was not to be deterred from his purpose. He proceeded to the camp, regardless of prodigies, which he considered as the effect of natural causes; or, it may be, that what is fixed by fate cannot by human prudence be avoided. A vast conflux of soldiers assembled in the camp. Galba addressed them in a short speech, such as becomes the imperial dignity. He told them that, in conformity to the example of Augustus, and the practice of the army, where each soldier chooses his companion in war (*b*), he had adopted Piso for his son. Fearing that his silence on the subject of the German revolt might tend to magnify the danger, he added, that the fourth and eighteenth legions were, by the artifice of a few factious leaders, incited to tumult and disorder; but their violence went no further than words, and he had no doubt but they would soon be sensible of their error. Such was his plain and manly language. He added no flattering expressions, no soothing hopes of a donative. The tribunes, notwithstanding, and the centurions and soldiers who stood nearest to his person, raised a shout of approbation. Through the rest of the lines a deep and sullen silence prevailed. The men saw, with discontent, that, on the eve of a war, they were deprived of those gratuities which had been granted in time of peace, and were now become the soldier's right. The emperor, beyond all doubt, had it in his power to secure the affections of the soldiers. From a parsimonious old man the smallest mark of liberality would have made an impression. But in an age th t could no longer bear the virtues of the old re-

public, rigid economy was out of season, and, by consequence, the worst of policy.

XIX. From the camp Galba proceeded to the senate. His speech, like that to the soldiers, was short, unadorned, and simple. Piso delivered himself with grace and eloquence. The fathers heard him with attention; some with real affection, and others, who in their hearts opposed his interest, with overacted zeal; while the neutral and indifferent (by far the greatest number) made a tender of their services, all with private views, regardless of their country. This was the only public act in which Piso appeared. In the time that followed between his adoption and his death (an interval of four days) he neither said nor did any thing that merits the attention of history.

Affairs in Germany began to wear a gloomy aspect. Messengers upon the heels of one another came posting to Rome; and in a city where men stood athirst for news, and swallowed the worst with avidity, nothing was seen but hurry and confusion. The fathers resolved to treat by their deputies with the German legions. In a secret council it was proposed that Piso should set out at the head of the embassy, that the army might have before their eyes the authority of the senate, and the majesty of the empire. It was further thought advisable that Laco, the præfect of the prætorian guards, should accompany the deputation; but he declined the office. Nor was the choice of the ambassadors easily arranged. The whole was left to Galba's

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judgment, and he executed it with caprice and shameful indecision. Men were appointed, and removed; others were substituted, and changed again; some excused themselves; numbers, as fear or ambition prompted, made interest for the preference, or for permission to remain at home.

XX. The means of raising money came next under consideration. Various expedients were proposed, but none appeared so just, as that of making reprisals on such as by their rapacity impoverished the commonwealth. Nero had lavished in pensions and donations above two-and-twenty million of sesterces. The men who had enriched themselves by this wild profusion were allowed to retain a tenth part (*a*) of the plunder, and condemned to refund the rest. But their tenth part was no longer in their possession. Prodigal no less of the public money than of their own, they had squandered all in riot and debauchery. They had neither lands, nor funds of any kind. The wreck of their fortunes consisted of little more than the utensils of luxury, vice, and folly. To enforce a resumption of all enormous grants, a court of commissioners was established, consisting of thirty Roman knights. This tribunal, odious on account of its novelty, and still more so for its number of officers, and the spirit of cabal that prevailed in every part of the business, was found vexatious and oppressive. The auctioneer planted his staff in every street; the public crier was heard; sales and confiscations were seen; a general ferment spread through the city. And yet this scene

of distress was beheld with pleasure. The men who had been pillaged by Nero, saw the minions of that emperor reduced to a level with themselves. About the same time several tribunes were discharged from the service. In that number were Antonius Taurus and Antonius Naso, both of the prætorian guards; Æmilius Pacensis, from the city cohorts, and Julius Fronto, from the night-watch. But this, so far from being a remedy, served only to alarm and irritate the rest of the officers. They concluded that all were equally suspected, and that a timid court, not daring at once to go the length of its resentment, would proceed to cull them out man by man.

XXI. Otho, in the mean time, felt every motive that could inflame ambition. In quiet times he had nothing before him but despair; trouble and confusion were his only source of hope. His luxury was too great for the revenue of a prince (*a*), and his fortune was sunk to the lowest ebb, below the condition of a private man. He hated Galba, and he saw Piso with an eye of envy. To these incentives he added real or imaginary fears for his own personal safety, and in those fears he found new motives for rebellion. "He had felt the weight of Nero's dis-
"pleasure; and must he now wait for a second Lu-
"sitania? Was he to expect, under colour of friend-
"ship, another honourable banishment? The man
"whom the public voice has named for the succes-
"sion, is sure to be suspected by the reigning
"prince. It was that jealousy that ruined his interest
"with a superannuated emperor; and the same nar-

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"row motive would act with greater force on the "mind of a young man (*b*), by nature harsh, and in "his exile grown fierce and savage. Otho was, per-"haps, already doomed to destruction. But the au-"thority of Galba was on the decline, and that of Piso "not yet established. This was, therefore, the time to "strike a sudden blow. The convulsion of states, "and the change of masters, afford the true season "for courage and vigorous enterprise. In such a "period, when inactivity is certain ruin, and bold "temerity may be crowned with success, to linger "in doubt might be the ruin of his cause. To die is "the common lot of humanity. In the grave, the "only distinction lies between those who leave no "trace behind, and the heroic spirits who transmit "their names to posterity. And since the same end "awaits alike the guilty and the innocent, the man "of enterprise will provoke his fate, and close the "scene with glory."

XXII. The mind of Otho was not, like his body (*a*), soft and effeminate. His slaves and freedmen lived in a course of luxury, unknown to private families. They flattered their master's taste; they painted to him in lively colours the joys of Nero's court, and the perpetual round of gay delights in which he had passed his days; they represented to him adultery without control, the choice of wives and concubines, and scenes of revelry scarcely known to Asiatic princes. These, if he dared nobly, they represented to him as his own; if he remained inactive, as the prize of others. The judicial astrologers

added a spur to inflame his ardour. They announced great events, and to Otho a year of glory. Society has, perhaps, never known a more dangerous pest than this race of impostors, who have been ever ready, with vile infusions, to poison the hearts of princes, and to stimulate ambition to its ruin; a set of perfidious men, proscribed by law, and yet, in defiance of all law, cherished in such a city as Rome.

It was with this crew of fortune-tellers that Poppæa held consultations when she aspired to the imperial bed. It happened that one of these pretenders to preternatural knowledge, a man of the name of Ptolemy, accompanied Otho into Spain. He had there foretold that Otho would survive the reign of Nero; and, the event giving credit to his art, he took upon him to promise greater things. He saw Galba on the verge of life, and Otho in the vigour of his days. From that circumstance, and the currents of popular rumour that filled the city of Rome, this man drew his conjectures, and ventured to announce Otho's elevation to the imperial dignity. These bodings were welcome to the ear of Otho: he considered them as the effect of science, and believed the whole, with that credulity which, in a mind inflamed with ambition, stands ready to receive the marvellous for reality. From this time, Ptolemy was the chief actor in the dark scenes that followed. He inspired the plan of treason, and Otho embraced it with impetuous ardour. The heart that has formed the wish, and conceived the project, has seldom any scruple about the means.

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XXIII. Whether this bold conspiracy was then first imagined, or prepared and settled long before, cannot now be known. It is, however, certain that Otho had been in the habit of courting the affections of the army, and this, either with a view of being called to the succession, or, if not, with a design to seize it by force. He omitted no opportunity to ingratiate himself with the common men; on their march, in the lines, at their quarters, he made it his business to converse freely with all; he accosted the veterans by name, and, remembering their service under Nero, called them his brother-soldiers; he renewed his acquaintance with some; he inquired after others, and with his interest and his purse was ready to be their friend. In these discourses he took care to mingle complaints, and, with half-hinted malignity, to glance at Galba. He omitted nothing that could fill the vulgar mind with discontent. The soldiers were prepared to receive the worst impressions. Fatiguing marches, provisions ill supplied, and a plan of rigorous discipline lately revived, turned their hearts against the reigning prince. They had known gentler times, when, at their ease, they traversed the lakes of Campania, and went on sailing parties to the cities of Achaia; but now the scene was changed to the Alps, the Pyrenéans, and long tracts of country, where they were to march under a load of armour scarce supportable.

XXIV. While the minds of the soldiers were, by these means, thrown into violent agitations, Mævius Pudens, a near relation of Tigellinus, add-

ed fuel to the flame. Whoever was known to be of a light and versatile disposition, in distress for money, or fond of public commotions, this man attracted to his party. He sapped his way with a degree of dexterity, as unperceived as it was successful. As often as Galba was entertained at Otho's house, he distributed to the cohort on duty a hundred sesterces for every man, under colour of an allowance for their usual convivial party. This generosity, which passed under the name of a largess, was increased by the secret, but well applied, bribery of Otho; who became at last a corruptor so bold and open, that, when Cocceius Proculus, a soldier of the body-guard, was engaged in a litigation with one of his neighbours about the boundaries of their respective grounds, Otho bought the whole estate of the adverse party, and conveyed it to the soldier as a present. And yet these practices gave no jealousy to the commander of the prætorian bands. To penetrate dark transactions was so far from being his talent, that he could not see what escaped no eye but his own.

XXV. Otho took into his councils one of his freedmen, by name Onomastus. This man was chosen to conduct the enterprise. He selected for his accomplices, Barbius Proculus, whose duty it was to bear the watch-word to the night-guard, and one Veturius, his chosen assistant. Otho sounded them apart; and finding them fit instruments for his purposes, subtle, dark, and resolute, he loaded them both with presents, and dismissed them with a sum

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of money, to be employed in bribing the rest of the guards. In this manner, two soldiers undertook to dispose of the Roman empire, and what they undertook, they dared to execute. A few only were conscious of the plot. The rest, though held in suspense, were managed with such dexterity, that they stood in readiness, as soon as the blow was struck, to second the conspirators. The soldiers of note were told, that having been distinguished by Nymphidius, they lived in danger, suspected, and exposed to the resentment of Galba. The loss of the donative, so often promised, and still withheld, was the topic enforced, to irritate the minds of the common men. Numbers lamented the loss of Nero, and the agreeable vices of that dissolute reign. All were averse from the new plan of discipline, and the idea of a further reform diffused a general terror.

XXVI. The spirit of disaffection spread, as it were by contagion, to the legions and the auxiliary troops, all sufficiently agitated by the revolt in Germany. The vile and profligate were ready for any mischief, and among the few of sober conduct, inactivity was no better than treason in disguise. The conspirators saw their advantage, insomuch that, on the day ensuing the ides of January, they formed a resolution to take Otho under their care, as he returned from supper, and, without further delay, proclaim him emperor. This project, however, did not take effect. In the darkness of the night, and the confusion inseparable from it, no man could answer for the consequences. The city was full of

soldiers; and among men inflamed with liquor, no union, no concerted measure, could be expected. The traitors desisted from their purpose, but with no public motive. The general welfare made no impression on men, who had conspired to imbrue their hands in the blood of their sovereign. What they chiefly feared was, that the first who offered himself to the troops from Germany and Pannonia, might by those strangers, and in the tumult of the dark, be mistaken for Otho, and saluted by the title of emperor. The plot, thus checked for the present, began to transpire, and must have been by various circumstances brought to light, had not the chief conspirators laboured to suppress all appearances of lurking treason. Some facts, however, reached the ears of Galba; but the folly of Laco explained every thing away, and, by consequence, the emperor was lulled into security. The præfect of the guards had no knowledge of the military character. Nothing could open the eyes of a man, who opposed every measure, however excellent, which did not originate with himself. By the perversity of his nature, he was always at variance with talents and superior judgment.

XXVII. On the eighteenth day before the calends of February, Galba assisted at a sacrifice in the temple of Apollo. In the midst of the ceremony, Umbricius the augur, after inspecting the entrails of the victims, announced impending treason, and a lurking enemy within the walls of Rome. Otho, who stood near the emperor, heard this prediction,

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but interpreted it in his own favour, pleased with omens that promised so well to his cause. In that moment, Onomastus came to inform him, that his builders and surveyors were waiting to talk with him on business. This, as had been concerted, was a signal, that the conspirators were ready to throw off the mask, and strike the decisive blow. Otho quitted the temple, having first told such as wondered at his sudden departure, that, being on the point of purchasing certain farm-houses, not in good repair, he had appointed workmen to examine the buildings before he concluded his bargain. Having made that feigned excuse, he walked off, arm in arm, with his freedman; and, passing through the palace formerly belonging to Tiberius, went directly to the great market-place, called the Velabrum, and thence to the golden mile-pillar (*a*) near the temple of Saturn. At that place a small party of the prætorian soldiers, in number not exceeding three-and-twenty, saluted him emperor. The sight of such an insignificant handful of men struck him with dismay; but his partisans drew their swords, and, placing him in a litter (*b*), carried him off in triumph. They were joined in their way by an equal number, some of them accomplices in the treason; others, in wonder and astonishment, hurried along by the current. The conspirators, brandishing their swords, and rending the air with acclamations, pursued their course, while numbers followed in profound silence, determined to see the issue before they took a decided part.

XXVIII. Julius Martialis, a military tribune,

was at that time commanding officer in the camp. Amazed at a treason so bold and daring, and perhaps imagining that it extended wider, he made no attempt to oppose the torrent. His inactivity had the appearance of a confederacy in guilt. The rest of the tribunes and centurions followed the same line of caution, in their solicitude for their own safety losing all sense of honour and of every public principle. Such, in that alarming crisis, was the disposition of the camp: a few seditious incendiaries dared to attempt a revolution; more wished to see it, and all were willing to acquiesce.

XXIX. Galba, in the mean time, ignorant of all that passed, continued in the temple, attentive to the sacred rites, and with his prayers fatiguing the gods of an empire now no longer his. Intelligence at length arrived, that a senator (who by name no man could tell) was carried in triumph to the camp. Otho was soon after announced. The people in crowds rushed forward from every quarter, some representing the danger greater than it was, others lessening it, and, even in ruin, still retaining their habitual flattery. A council was called. After due deliberation, it was thought advisable to sound the dispositions of the cohort then on duty before the palace, but without the interposition of Galba. His authority was to be reserved for the last extremity. Piso called the men together, and, from the steps of the palace, addressed them to the following purport: "It is now, my fellow soldiers, the sixth day "since I was made by adoption presumptive heir

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"to this great empire. Whether I was called to a "post of honour, or of danger, was more than I "could then foresee. The offer was honourable, and "I accepted it; with what advantage to my own "family in particular, or to the commonwealth at "large, it will be yours to determine. For myself, "I have nothing to fear. Trained in the school of "adversity, I now perceive that the smiles are no "less dreadful than the frowns of fortune. But for "myself I feel no concern: I feel for the situation "of an aged father; I feel for the senate; I feel for "my country. The lot of all three will be grievous, "whether we fall this day by the hands of assas-"sins, or, which to a generous mind is no less "afflicting, find ourselves obliged to shed the blood "of our fellow citizens. In the late revolution, it "was matter of joy to all good men, that the city "was not discoloured with Roman blood, and that, "without civil discord, the reins of government "passed into other hands. To secure the same tran-"quillity was the object of the late adoption. By "that measure, Galba had reason to think that he "closed the scene of war and civil commotion.

XXX. "I will neither mention the nobility of "my birth, nor claim the merit of moderation. I "arrogate nothing to myself. In opposition to Otho "there is no necessity to call our virtues to our aid. "The vices of the man, even then, when he was "the friend, or rather the pander of Nero, were the "ruin of his country. In those vices he places all "his glory. And shall a life of debauchery, shall

"that effeminate air, and that soft solicitude (*a*) for "gay apparel, give an emperor to the Roman world? "They, who suffer profusion to pass for liberality, "will in time perceive their error. Otho may squan- "der, but to bestow is not in his character. What "think you are the objects that now engross his "thoughts? What are his views? What does he "aim at? Scenes of luxury, lawless gratifications, "carousing festivals, and the embraces of lascivi- "ous women, are the imaginations of his heart. "These with him are imperial pleasures, the rights "of sovereignty. The joy will be his: it will be "yours to blush for your new master. In the whole "catalogue of those daring usurpers, who by their "crimes have risen to power, is there an instance "of one who made atonement by his virtues? Is "there a man who gained an empire by iniquity, "and governed it with moderation?

"Galba was raised by the voice of a willing peo- "ple to his present situation: his inclination, and "your consent, have added me to the line of the "Cæsars. But after all, if the commonwealth, the "senate, and the people, are no better than mere "empty names, yet let me ask you, my fellow sol- "diers, will you suffer a lawless crew to overturn the "government? From the worst and most abandoned "of mankind will you receive an emperor? The le- "gions, it is true, have at different times mutinied "against their generals; but your fidelity has never "been questioned. Nero abdicated; you did not "desert him. He fell without your treachery. And "shall thirty ruffians—thirty did I say? their number

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"is less—shall a wretched handful of vile conspira-
"tors, whom no man would suffer to vote in the
"choice of a tribune or centurion, dispose of the
"Roman empire at their will and pleasure? Will
"you establish such a precedent? and, by establish-
"ing it, will you become accomplices in the guilt?
"The example will pass into the provinces; confu-
"sion and anarchy will be the fatal consequence.
"Galba may fall, and I may perish with him; but
"the calamities of a civil war must remain for you.
"By murdering your prince you may earn the wages
"of iniquity; but the reward of virtue will not be
"less. Judge which is best, a donative for your in-
"nocence, or a largess for murder and rebellion."

XXXI. During this harangue, the soldiers belonging to the guard withdrew from the place. The rest of the cohort shewed no sign of discontent. Without noise or tumult, the usual incidents of sedition, they displayed their colours according to the military custom, and not, as was imagined afterwards, with a design to cover, by false appearances, a settled plan of treachery and revolt. Celsus Marius was sent to use his influence with the forces from Illyrium, at that time encamped under the portico of Vipsanius (*a*). Orders were likewise given to Amulius Serenus and Domitius Sabinus, two centurions of the first rank, to draw from the temple of Liberty the German soldiers quartered in that place. The legion, draughted from the marines, was not to be trusted. They had seen, on Galba's entry into Rome, a cruel massacre of their comrades, and the

survivors, with minds exasperated, panted for revenge. At the same time, Cetrius Severus, Subrius Dexter, and Pompeius Longinus, three military tribunes, made the best of their way to the prætorian camp, with an intention, while the ferment was still recent, and before a general flame was kindled, to mould the minds of the men to a pacific temper. Subrius and Cetrius were repulsed with menaces. Longinus was roughly handled. The soldiers took away his weapons, unwilling to listen to a man, whom they considered as an officer promoted out of his turn, by the favour of Galba, and, for that reason, faithful to his prince. The marine legion, without hesitation, joined the prætorian malecontents. The detachment from the Illyrian army caught the infection, and obliged Celsus to retire under a shower of darts. The veterans from Germany remained for some time in suspense. They had been sent by Nero to Alexandria; but, being recalled in a short time afterwards, they returned to Rome in a distressed condition, worn out with toil, and weakened by sickness during their voyage. Galba attended to their wants, and, in order to recruit their strength, administered seasonable relief. The soldiers felt the generosity of the prince, and gratitude was not yet effaced from their minds.

XXXII. The populace, in the mean time, with a crowd of slaves intermixed, rushed into the palace, demanding vengeance on the head of Otho, and his partisans. The clamour was loud and dissonant, like that of a rabble in the circus or amphitheatre, roar-

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ing for the public sports, or some new spectacle. The whole was conducted without principle, without judgment, or sincerity; and, before the close of day, the same mouths were open to bawl for the reverse of what they desired in the morning. To be ready with shouts and vociferation, let who will be the reigning prince, has been in all ages the zeal of the vulgar. Galba, in the mean time, balanced between two opposite opinions. Titus Vinius was for his remaining in the palace. "The slaves," he said, "might "be armed, and all the avenues secured. The prince "should by no means expose himself to a frantic "mob. Due time should be allowed for the seditious "to repent, and for good men to form a plan of "union, and concert their measures. Crimes suc-"ceed by hurry and sudden dispatch: honest coun-"sels gain vigour by delay. Should it be hereafter "proper to sally forth, that expedient would be still "in reserve; but if once hazarded, the error would "be seen too late. The prince, in that case, would "be in the power of his enemies."

XXXIII. It was argued on the other hand, "that "the exigence called for vigorous measures. Before "the conspiracy of a few traitors gained an acces-"sion of strength, one brave exertion might prove "decisive. Confront the danger, and Otho will shrink "back with terror and dismay. It is not long since "he went forth by stealth. He has been joined by "a few incendiaries, and hurried away to a camp, "where no plan is settled; but now, while Galba's "friends remain inactive, he assumes the sovereign,

"and has time to learn how to play his part. And "shall we linger here in cold debate, till the usur-"per, having mastered the camp, comes forth to "invade the forum, and, under the eye of a lawful "prince, ascends the capitol? In the mean time, "must our valiant emperor remain trembling in his "palace, while his warlike friends barricade the "doors, preparing, with heroic resolution, to stand "a seige? But, it seems, the slaves are to be armed; "and they, no doubt, will render effectual service, "especially if we neglect the people now ready to "support our cause, and suffer their indignation to "evaporate without striking a blow. What is dis-"honourable is always dangerous. If we must fall, "let us bravely meet our fate. Mankind will applaud "our valour, and Otho, the author of our ruin, will "be the object of public detestation." Vinius maintained his former opinion. Laco opposed him with warmth, and even with violent menaces. In this Icelus was the secret prompter. That favourite hated the consul, and, in a moment big with danger, chose to gratify a little and a narrow spirit at the expense of the emperor and the public.

XXXIV. Galba adopted what appeared to him the most specious and most prudent advice. Piso, notwithstanding, was sent forward to the camp. The presence of a young man of high expectation, and lately called to the first honours of the state, might give a turn to the passions of the army. He was besides considered as the enemy of Vinius. If, in fact, he did not hate him, the enemies of the minister wished it; and malice, imputed to the mind

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of man, is easily believed to be a natural passion. Piso was hardly gone forth, when a rumour prevailed that Otho was slain in the camp. The report at first was vague and uncertain, but, like all important lies, gathered as it went, and grew into credit. It was confirmed by men who averred that they were eye-witnesses on the spot, and saw the blow given. The tale was welcome to a great many, and the credulous swallowed it without further enquiry. It was afterwards thought to be a political lie, framed by Otho's friends, who mingled in the crowd in order to entice Galba from his palace.

XXXV. The city resounded with acclamations. Not only the vulgar and ignorant multitude were transported beyond all bounds, but the knights and senators were hurried away with the torrent; they forgot their fears; they rushed to the emperor's presence; they complained that the punishment of treason was taken out of their hands. The men who, as it appeared soon after, were the most likely to shrink from danger, displayed their zeal with ostentation; lavish of words, yet cowards in their hearts. No man knew that Otho was slain, yet all averred it as a fact. In this situation, wanting certain intelligence, but deceived by his courtiers, Galba determined to go forth from his palace. He called for his armour. The weight was too much for his feeble frame; and, in the throng that gathered round him, finding himself overpowered, he desired to be placed in a litter. Before he left the palace, Julius Atticus, a soldier of the body guard,

accosted him with a bloody sword in his hand, crying aloud, "In me you see the slayer of Otho: it "was I that killed him." Galba calmly answered (*a*), Who gave you orders? Such was the spirit of the man even in the last extremity, still determined to repress the licentiousness of the soldiers; by their insolence undismayed, by their flattery never softened.

XXXVI. Meanwhile, the prætorian guards threw off the mask, and with one voice declared for Otho. They ranged themselves in a body round his person, and, in the ardour of their zeal, placed him amidst the standards and eagles, on the very tribunal where, a little before, stood the golden statue (*a*) of Galba. The tribunes and centurions were not suffered to approach. The common soldiers, having no kind of confidence in their officers, gave the word to watch the motions of all in any rank or command. The camp resounded with shouts and mutual exhortations, not with that faint-hearted zeal which draws from the mob of Rome their feeble acclamations, but with one mind, one general impulse, all concurred in support of their new emperor. The prætorians were almost frantic with joy. They embraced their comrades as they saw them advancing forward; they clasped their hands; they led them to the tribunal; they repeated the military oath (*b*), and administered it to all. They recommended the prince of their own choice to the affections of the men, and the men, in their turn, to the favour of the prince. Otho, on his part, omitted nothing that

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could conciliate the affections of the multitude. He paid his court to the rabble with his hands outstretched, bowing lowly down, and, in order to be emperor, crouching like a slave. The marine legion did not hesitate to take the oath of fidelity. By that event Otho felt himself inspired with uncommon ardour. Having hitherto tampered with the soldiers man by man, he judged right to address them in a body. He took his station on the rampart of the camp, and spoke to the following effect:

XXXVII. "In what light, my fellow soldiers, shall "I now consider myself? In what character must "I address you? A private man I cannot call my-"self, for you have bestowed upon me the title of "prince: but can I assume that title, while another "is still in possession of the sovereign power? In "what description you yourselves are to be classed, "is to me matter of doubt; and must remain so, till "the question is decided, Whether you have in "your camp the emperor of Rome, or a public ene-"my. You have heard the cry that has gone forth; "the same voice that demands vengeance on me, "calls aloud for your destruction. With my life "your fate is interwoven. We must live or perish "together. There is no alternative. The humanity "of Galba is well known to us all. Perhaps, even "while I speak, he has pronounced our doom. To "yield to the advice of his friends, will be an easy "task to him, who without a request, of his own "free will, in cold blood, could give to the edge of "the sword so many thousand innocent soldiers, all

"destroyed in one inhuman massacre. My heart "recoils with horror, when I reflect on the disas- "trous day when he made his public entry into the "city. After receiving the submission of the sol- "diers, with unheard-of treachery he ordered the "whole body to be decimated (*a*); and, in the view "of the people, exhibited a scene of blood and hor- "ror. These are the exploits of Galba, and this his "only victory. With these inauspicious omens he "entered the city of Rome,—and what has been "since the glory of his reign? Obultronius Sabinus "and Cornelius Marcellus have been murdered in "Spain; Betuus Chilo in Gaul; Fonteius Capito in "Germany; and Clodius Macer in Africa. Add to "these Cingonius Varro butchered on his march, "Turpilianus in the heart of the city, and Nymphi- "dius in the camp. Is there a province, is there in "any part of the empire a single camp, which he "has not defiled with blood? This, he will tell "you, is a reform of the army. In his language, "murder is a legal remedy: what all good men "agree to call a deed of barbarity, passes with him "for a correction of abuses. Under specious names "he confounds the nature of things: cruelty is jus- "tice, avarice is economy, and massacre is military "discipline. Since the death of Nero not more than "seven months have elapsed; and, in that time, "Icelus his freedman has amassed, by plunder, "more enormous wealth than the Polycleti (*b*), "the Vatini, the Elii, and the Haloti were able to "do in the whole course of that emperor's reign. "Even Titus Vinius, if he himself had seized the

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"empire, would have had the grace to blush at such "enormities; nor should we have groaned under "such a load of oppression. Though no higher than "a private citizen, he plunders without remorse; "he seizes our property, as if we were his slaves; "and he despises us as the servants of another mas-"ter. His house alone (*c*) contains wealth sufficient "to discharge the donative every day promised, but "promised merely to insult you.

XXXVIII. "That your hopes of better times "may never succeed, Galba has taken care, by his "choice of a successor, to entail upon you endless "misery. He has adopted a man from whom you "can have nothing to expect; a man recalled from "banishment, in his temper dark and gloomy, har-"dened in avarice, the counterpart of the emperor "himself. You remember, my fellow soldiers, the "day on which that adoption was made; a day de-"formed with storms and tempests, when the war-"ring elements announced the awful displeasure of "the gods. The senate and the people are now of "one mind. They depend upon your valour. It is "your generous ardour that must give vigour and "energy to our present enterprise. Without your "aid the best designs must prove abortive. It is not "to a war, nor even to danger, that I am now to "conduct you: the armies of Rome are on our side. "The single cohort remaining with Galba is com-"posed of citizens, not of soldiers; they are gown-"ed, not armed; they do not stand forth in his de-"fence; they detain him as their prisoner. When

"they see you advancing in firm array, and when "my signal is given, the only struggle will be, who "shall espouse my cause with the greatest ar- "dour. The time forbids all dull delay: we have "undertaken bravely; but it is the issue that must "justify the measure, and crown us with applause." Having closed his harangue, he ordered the magazine of arms to be thrown open. The soldiers seized their weapons; they paid no regard to military rules; no distinction was observed; the prætorians, the legions, and the auxiliaries crowded together, and shields and helmets were snatched up in a tumultuary manner. No tribune, no centurion was allowed to give orders. Each man was his own commanding officer. While the friends of discipline stood astonished at the scene of wild confusion, the evil-minded saw with pleasure that the regulars were offended, and in that sentiment found a new motive to increase the disorder.

XXXIX. The number of the rebels increased every moment, and their noise and clamour reached the city of Rome. Piso did not think it advisable to proceed to the camp. He met Galba, who had left the palace, on his way to the forum. Marius Celsus had already brought alarming tidings. Some advised the emperor to return to his palace; others were for taking possession of the capitol, and the major part for proceeding directly to the tribunal of public harangues; numbers gave their advice, for no better reason than to clash with the opinions of others; and, in the distraction of jarring counsels,

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the misfortune was, that what ought to have occurred first, was seen too late. They decided when the opportunity was lost. We are told that Laco, without the privity of Galba, formed a design against the life of Vinius. The murder of that minister, he thought, would appease the fury of the soldiers, or it may be that he suspected treachery, and thought him joined in a secret league with Otho: perhaps his own malice was the motive. But for this dark purpose neither the time nor the place was convenient: the sword once drawn, there was no knowing where the scene of blood would end. Messengers arriving every moment increased the consternation; the spirit of Galba's friends began to droop; numbers deserted him; and of all that zeal which a little before blazed out with so much ardour, every spark was now extinguished.

XL. Galba, in the midst of a prodigious conflux of people, had not strength to support himself; and, as the waving multitude was impelled different ways, he was hurried on by the torrent. The temples, the porticos, and great halls round the forum, were filled with crowds of gazing spectators. The whole presented an awful spectacle. A deep, and sullen silence prevailed. The very rabble was hushed. Amazement sat on every face. Their eyes watched every motion, and their ears caught every sound. The interval was big with terror; it was neither a tumult, nor a settled calm, but rather the stillness of fear, or smothered rage, such as often precedes some dreadful calamity. Otho was still in

the camp. He received intelligence that the populace had recourse to arms, and thereupon ordered his troops to push forward with rapidity, and prevent the impending danger. At his command the Roman soldiers, as if marching to dethrone an eastern monarch, a Vologeses, or a Pacorus, and not their own lawful sovereign, advanced with impetuous fury to imbrue their hands in the blood of an old man, naked and disarmed. They entered the city; they dispersed the common people; they spurred their horses at full speed, and, rushing into the forum sword in hand, trampled the senators under foot. The sight of the capitol made no impression; the temples, sanctified by the religion of ages, could not restrain their fury; for the majesty of former princes, they had no respect, and of those who were to succeed, no kind of dread. They rushed forward to commit a detestable parricide, forgetting, in their frantic rage, that crimes of that atrocious nature are sure to be punished by the prince that succeeds to the sovereign power.

XLI. The prætorians no sooner appeared in sight, than the standard-bearer of the cohort still remaining with Galba (his name, we are told, was Attilius Vergilio) tore from the colours the image of Galba, and dashed it on the ground. That signal given, the soldiers, with one voice, declared for Otho. The people fled in consternation. Such as lingered behind were attacked sword in hand. The men, who carried Galba in a litter, were struck with terror. In their fright they let him fall to the ground

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near the Curtian lake (*a*). His last words, according as men admired or hated him, have been variously reported. According to some, he asked, in a suppliant tone, What harm he had done? and prayed for a few days, that he might discharge the donative due to the soldiers. Others assure us, that he presented his neck to the assassin's stroke, and said with a firm tone of voice, "Strike, if the good of the common-"wealth requires it." To ruffians thirsting for blood no matter what he said. By what hand the blow was given cannot now be known. Some impute it to Terentius, a resumed veteran; others, to a fellow of the name of Lecanius. A report still more general has transmitted down to us the name of Camurius, a common soldier of the fifteenth legion. This man, it is said, cut Galba's throat. The rest fell on with brutal rage, and, finding his breast covered with armour, dissevered his legs and arms. Nor did the barbarians desist, till the emperor lay a headless trunk, deformed with wounds, and weltering in his blood.

XLII. Titus Vinius was the next victim. The manner in which he met his fate is likewise left uncertain. Whether on the first assault his utterance was suppressed by fear, or whether he had power to call out, that Otho had given no orders against his life, we have now no means of knowing. Those words, if really spoken, might be an effort of pusillanimity to save his life, or they were the confession of a man, who was actually an accomplice in the conspiracy. His life and manners leave no room to

doubt but he was capable of joining in a parricide, of which his own administration (*a*) was the principal cause. He fell by a wound that shattered the joint of his knee, and, as he lay stretched in that condition, he was run through the body by Julius Carus, a legionary soldier. He expired before the temple of Julius Cæsar.

XLIII. While the rebels were acting their horrible tragedy, the age beheld, in the conduct of one man, a splendid example of courage and fidelity. Sempronius Densus was the person; a centurion of the prætorian cohort. Having been ordered by Galba to join the guard that escorted Piso, he no sooner saw a band of armed assassins, than he advanced to oppose their fury, brandishing his poniard, and exclaiming against the horrible deed. With his voice, with his hand, with every effort in the power of man, he made a brave resistance, and gave Piso, wounded as he was, an opportunity of making his escape. Piso reached the temple of Vesta, where a slave of the state, touched with compassion, conducted him to his own private apartment. Piso lay concealed for some time, not indebted to the sanctity of the temple, nor to the rights of religion, but sheltered by the obscurity of the place. At length, Sulpicius Florus, who belonged to a British cohort, and had been made by Galba a citizen of Rome, and Statius Murcus, a prætorian soldier, arrived in quest of him by Otho's special order. By these two men Piso was dragged to the vestibule of the temple, where, under repeated blows, he breathed his last.

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XLIV. In the midst of a general massacre, no murder, we are told, gave so much satisfaction to Otho, nor was there, among the heads cut off (*a*), one, at which he gazed with such ardent eyes. By this event he felt himself relieved from all apprehensions. The fate of Galba and of Titus Vinius affected him in a different manner. The former brought to his mind an idea of majesty fallen from a state of elevation; and the death of the latter awakened the memory of an early friendship, and even into a heart like his, fierce, cruel, and ambitious, infused a tincture of melancholy. When Piso fell, an enemy expired. Feeling for him neither regret nor compunction, he gave a loose to joy. The three heads were fixed on poles, and carried, amidst the ensigns of the cohorts, with the eagle of the legion, through the streets of Rome. A band of soldiers followed, stretching forth their hands reeking with blood, and boasting aloud that they gave the mortal wounds, or that they were present aiding and abetting; all, with truth or falsehood, claiming the honour of an atrocious deed. No less than one hundred and twenty memorials, presented on this occasion, by persons who claimed the reward of crimes committed on that dreadful day, were afterwards found by Vitellius; and the several authors, after diligent search made by his orders, were punished with death, not from motives of regard for the memory of Galba, but with the usual policy of princes, who think, by punishing the malefactors of a former reign, that they establish a precedent, and, by the terrors of future vengeance, effectually secure themselves.

XLV. Another senate and another people seemed now to be in possession of Rome. All pressed forward to the camp. You would have thought it a race of servility, in which every man endeavoured to outstrip his fellow-citizens, and be the first to pay his court. They joined in reviling the name of Galba, and all applauded the conduct of the soldiers. They thronged round Otho, fawning to kiss his hand, and, in proportion to their want of sincerity, playing the farce with overacted zeal. Otho was not deficient in the mummery of thanks and gratitude. Attentive to all, and gracious to individuals, he took care at the same time, by his looks and actions, to restrain the soldiers, who, by the ferocity of their looks, seemed to threaten further mischief. Marius Celsus, the consul elect, was the object of their vengeance. He had been the friend of Galba, and, in the last extremity, continued faithful to that unhappy prince. His talents and integrity gave offence to a lawless crew, with whom every virtue was a crime. They demanded his immediate execution. But their views were too apparent. The best and ablest men in Rome were doomed to destruction by a set of men, who panted to let loose their rage, and lay a scene of blood, of plunder, and devastation. Otho was not yet in fulness of power. His authority was sufficient to command the perpetration of crimes; to prohibit them was still beyond him. The part he assumed was that of a man enraged, and bent on some atrocious deed. In that pretended fury, he ordered Celsus to be loaded with irons, as

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a man reserved for heavier punishment, and by that stratagem saved him from destruction.

XLVI. The prætorians, from this time, knew no control. They chose their own præfects; namely, Plotius Firmus, formerly a common soldier, raised afterwards to the command of the night-guard, and, even during the life of Galba, a partisan in favour of Otho. To him they added Licinius Proculus, a man who lived in intimacy with Otho, and was supposed to be an accomplice in all his dark designs. For the office of governor of Rome they named Flavius Sabinus (*a*), influenced in their choice by their respect for the memory of Nero, who had committed to him the same important charge. The majority had another motive: by concurring in this nomination, they meant to pay a compliment to Vespasian, the brother of Sabinus. Their next object was, to abolish the fees exacted by the centuturions for occasional exemptions from duty, and for leave of absence. These fees, in fact, were an annual tribute out of the pockets of the common men. In consequence of this abuse, a fourth part of every company was seen rambling about the country, or idly loitering in the very camp. The centurion received his perquisite, and had no other care. Nor was the soldier solicitous about the price; he purchased a right to be idle, and the means by which he enabled himself to defray the expense gave him no kind of scruple. By theft, by robbery, and by servile employments, he gained enough to enrich his officer; and the officer, in return, sold a dispensation from labour and the duties of the ser-

vice. Whoever had hoarded up a little money, was, for that reason, harassed with discipline, and oppressed with labour, till he purchased the usual indulgence. By these extortions the soldier was impoverished, his stock was exhausted; and after a vagabond life, his industry relaxed, and his vigour wasted, he returned to the camp without courage, strength, or money. By these pernicious practices corruption grew into a system. The common men forgot all discipline; their morals went to ruin; and, in the natural progress of vice, all became ripe for tumult, insurrections, and civil war. To remedy the mischief, and, at the same time, not to alienate the minds of the centurions, Otho undertook to pay an annual equivalent to the officers out of his own revenue. This reform was, no doubt, both wise and just. Good princes adopted it afterwards, and it is now a settled rule in the military system. Laco, the late commander of the prætorians, was condemned to an island, there, as was given out, to pass the remainder of his days; but a veteran soldier, whom Otho had dispatched for the purpose, put an end to his life. Martianus Icelus, being of no higher rank than that of a manumitted slave, died by the hand of the executioner.

XLVII. After the horrors of a day spent in guilt, and blood, and carnage, if any thing could add to the public misery, it was the joy that succeeded to that dismal scene. The prætor of the city (*a*) summoned a meeting of the senate. The other magistrates strove to distinguish themselves by the vilest

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adulation. The fathers assembled without delay. The tribunitian power, the name of Augustus, and all imperial honours enjoyed by former princes, were by a decree granted to Otho. Several members of that assembly were conscious of having thrown odious colours on the name and character of their new emperor, and hoped to expiate, by present flattery, the bitterness of former invectives. Whether Otho despised those injurious reflections, or stored them in his memory for future occasions, is uncertain. The shortness of his reign has left that matter undecided. He was conveyed in triumph to the capitol, and thence to the imperial palace. In his way, he saw the forum discoloured with blood, and heaps of slaughtered citizens lying round him. He granted leave to remove the dead bodies, and to perform the rites of sepulture. The remains of Piso were buried by his wife Verania (*b*), and Scribonianus his brother. The last duty to Titus Vinius was performed by his daughter Crispina (*c*). Their heads, which the murderers had reserved for sale, were found, and redeemed at a stipulated price.

XLVIII. Piso had well nigh completed the thirty-first year of his age; always high in the esteem of the public, yet never happy. Two of his brothers suffered a violent death; Magnus, by the command of Claudius, and Crassus by the cruelty of Nero. He himself had passed a considerable part of his time in banishment; an outlaw for some years, and four days a prince. By the adoption of Galba he was raised above his elder brother; but, by

that preference, all he gained was to be murdered first.

Titus Vinius had reached the age of fifty-seven; a man of unsettled principle, and various manners. His father was of a prætorian family; his grandfather by the maternal line was in the number proscribed by the triumvirate. His first campaign, under Calvisius Sabinus (*a*), began with disgrace. The wife of his commanding officer, prompted by wanton curiosity, went by night, in the disguise of a common soldier, to view the site and dispositions of the camp. In her frolic, she went round to visit the sentinels, and the posts and stations of the army. Arriving at length at the place where the eagles were deposited, she did not scruple to commit the act of adultery on that sacred spot. Vinius was charged as her accomplice, and, by order of Caligula, loaded with irons. By the revolution which soon after happened, he regained his liberty, and from that time rose to honours. He discharged the office of prætor, and afterwards commanded a legion, free from reproach. His name, however, was soon after branded with a crime, which a common slave would have blushed to commit. Being a guest at the table of Claudius, he was charged with pilfering a golden goblet. On the following day, that emperor, to distinguish Vinius from the rest of his company, gave orders that he should be trusted with nothing better than a cup of earthen ware. Notwithstanding this disgrace, he became proconsul of Narbon Gaul, and acquitted himself in his administration with distinguished firmness and equal integrity. The friendship

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of Galba placed him on the brink of a precipice. Bold and prompt in action, of an enterprising genius and undaunted courage, he was at the same time dark, subtle, and deceitful. Qualified to succeed in whatever he undertook, and by nature ready for good or evil deeds, he practised vice and virtue with alternate success and equal ardour. His last will, on account of his immoderate wealth, was declared null and void. That of Piso was confirmed by his poverty.

XLIX. Galba's body, during the night that followed the murder, lay exposed to numberless indignities. It was at length conveyed by Argius, an ancient slave and steward of that unfortunate emperor, to the private gardens of his master, and there deposited in an humble manner without honour or distinction. His head, in a mangled condition, was fixed on a pole by the rabble of the camp, and set up to public view near the tomb of Patrobius, a slave manumitted by Nero, and by order of Galba put to death. In that situation it was found on the following day, and added to the ashes of the body, which had been already committed to the flames. Such was the end of Servius Galba, in the seventy-third year of his age. He had seen the reign of five princes, and enjoyed, during that whole period, a series of prosperity; happy as a private citizen, as a prince unfortunate. He was descended from a long line of ancestors. His wealth was great: his talents not above mediocrity. Free from vice, he cannot be celebrated for his virtues. He knew the value of fame, yet was neither arrogant nor vain-

glorious. Having no rapacity, he was an economist of his own, and of the public treasure careful to a degree of avarice. To his friends and freedmen he was open, generous, and even resigned to their will. When his choice was happily made, his indulgence, however excessive, was at worst an amiable weakness; when bad men surrounded him, his good-nature bordered on folly. The splendour of his rank, and the felicity with which he steered through the dangers of a black and evil period, helped to raise the value of his character; his indolence passed for wisdom, and inactivity took the name of prudence. In the vigour of his days, he served with honour in Germany; as proconsul of Africa, he governed with moderation; and the Nethermost Spain, when he was advanced in years, felt the mildness of his administration. While no higher than a private citizen, his merit was thought superior to his rank; and the suffrages of mankind would have pronounced him worthy of empire, had he never made the experiment.

L. In this disastrous juncture, while Rome was shuddering with horror at the late dreadful carnage, and, from the well known vices of Otho's nature, men were in dread of worse evils still to come, dispatches from Germany brought an account of a new storm ready to burst in that quarter. The revolt of Vitellius, and the armies under his command, was no longer a secret. The intelligence arrived before the death of Galba, but was suppressed by that emperor, that the sedition on the Upper Rhine might

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be thought the only mischief that disturbed tranquillity of the empire. At length the true state of affairs was known, and a general panic was spread throughout the city. Not only the senators and Roman knights, who had still some shadow of authority, but the meaner populace, mourned over the distractions of their country. All were grieved, to see two men of the most pernicious characters, enervated by luxury, and abandoned to every vice, chosen by some fatality to be the bane and ruin of the commonwealth. The crimes and miseries, which, under the late emperors, were one continued pestilence, were no longer the objects that employed the public mind. The civil wars were fresh in the memory of all; they talked of Rome besieged and taken by her own armies; they remembered Italy laid waste, the provinces plundered, the battles of Pharsalia and Philippi, and the siege of Modena and Perusia (*a*), two places well known in history, and each of them the scene of public calamity.

"In those tempestuous times, the struggle, it was "observed, lay between men of illustrious charac-"ter, and by their contentions the state was brought "to the brink of ruin. But even then, under Julius "Cæsar, the empire still survived and flourished. It "survived under Augustus, and gained additional "lustre. Under Pompey and Brutus, had their arms "prevailed, the republic would have been once more "established. But those men have passed away. "Otho and Vitellius are now the competitors: and "for them, or either of them, shall the people crowd "to the temples? Must they pray for a tyrant to reign

"over them? Vows, in such a cause, were impious, "since, in a war between two detestable rivals, he, "who conquers, will be armed with power to com- "mit still greater crimes, and prove himself the "worst." Such were the reasonings of the people. Some, who saw at a distance, fixed their eyes on Vespasian, and the armies in the East. They foresaw new commotions in that part of the world, and dreaded the calamities of another war. Vespasian, they agreed, was in every respect superior to the two chiefs, who now convulsed the state; but even his character (*b*) was rather problematical. The truth is, of all the princes, who to his time reigned at Rome, he was the only one, whom power reformed, and made a better man.

LI. That the revolt under Vitellius may be seen in its true light, it will be necessary to state the causes that produced it. I therefore go back to the origin of that event. After the defeat of Julius Vindex (*a*), and the total rout of his armies, the victorious legions, enriched with booty, grew wanton with success. To men, who without fatigue or danger had closed a lucrative war, the love of enterprise became a natural passion. They preferred hostilities to a state of inaction, and plunder to the soldier's pay. They had, till the late commotions called them forth, endured the hardships of a rigorous service, in a bleak climate and a desolate country, where, even in time of peace, discipline was enforced with strict severity. But discipline, they knew, would be relaxed by civil discord. In the distractions of parties,

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both sides encourage licentiousness; and, by consequence, fraud, corruption, and treachery triumph with impunity. The mutinous soldiers were abundantly provided with arms and horses, both for parade and service. Before the late war in Gaul, they saw no more than the company, or the troop of horse, to which they belonged. Stationed at different quarters, they never went beyond their limits, and the boundaries of the provinces kept the armies distinct and separate. Being at length drawn together to make head against Vindex, they felt their own strength; and, having tasted the sweets of victory, they wanted to renew the troubles, by which their rapacity had been so amply gratified. They no longer treated the Gauls as their allies and friends; they considered them as enemies, and a vanquished people.

In these hostile sentiments they were confirmed by such of the Gallic nation as dwelt on the borders of the Rhine. The people, on that side of the country, had taken up arms against Vindex, and his allies, whom, since the death of that chief, they chose to call the GALBIAN FACTION; and now, by every artifice, by infusions of their own malice, they endeavoured to kindle a war between the Romans and their countrymen. The animosity of the legions was easily excited. The Sequanians, the Æduans, and other states, according to their opulence, were the chief objects of resentment. The soldiers thought of nothing but towns assaulted and carried by storm, the plunder of houses, and the desolation the country. In the heat of imagination, every man

anticipated the booty that was to fall to his share. To their arrogance and avarice, the never-failing vices of the strongest, they united the indignation of men, who felt themselves insulted by the vainglory with which the Æduans and the rest of the obnoxious states made it their boast, that, in despite of the legions, they had extorted from Galba a remission of one fourth of their tribute, and an extension of their territory. To these incentives was added a report, artfully thrown out and readily believed, that the legions were to be decimated, and the best and bravest of the centurions to be dismissed from the service. To increase the ferment, tidings of an alarming nature arrived from every quarter, and, in particular, a storm was said to be gathering over the city of Rome. The people of Lyons, still faithful to the memory of Nero, and the avowed enemies of Galba, took care to disseminate the worst reports. From that place, as from the centre of intelligence, rumours constantly issued: but the camp was the magazine of news, where invention framed the lie of the day, and credulity stood ready to receive it. The passions of the soldiers were in constant agitation: malice embittered their minds, and fear held them in suspense. But they viewed their numbers, and their courage revived. They found themselves in force, and in full security laughed at the idea of danger.

LII. It was near the calends of December in the preceding year, when Aulus Vitellius first appeared in the Lower Germany. He made it his business to

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review the legions in their winter-quarters; he restored several officers who had been degraded, and relieved others from the disgrace of an ignominious sentence. In these proceedings he acted, in some instances with justice, in others, with a view to his own ambition. He condemned the sordid avarice with which Fonteius Capito granted or refused rank in the army. He established a fair and regular system of military promotion, and in the eyes of the soldiers appeared to exceed the powers usually vested in consular generals. He seemed to be an officer of superior weight and grandeur. Reflecting men saw the baseness of his motives (*a*), while his creatures extolled every part of his conduct. The profusion, which, without judgment or economy, lavished away in bounties all his own property, and squandered that of others, was by his sycophants called benevolence and generosity. Even the vices, that sprung from lust of dominion, were by his creatures transformed into so many virtues.

In the two armies on the Upper and Lower Rhine, there were, no doubt, men well disposed, and of sober conduct; but, at the same time, both camps were infested by a set of desperate incendiaries. At the head of the factious and the turbulent stood Alienus Cæcina and Fabius Valens, each the commander of a legion, both remarkable for their avarice, and both of a daring spirit, ready for any desperate enterprise. Valens had served the interest of Galba, by detecting Verginius, as soon as the conduct of that officer seemed to be equivocal: he had also crushed the machinations of Capito, and

for those services thought himself ill requited. Stung with resentment, he now endeavoured to rouse the ambition of Vitellius. "The soldiers," he said, "were zealous in his service, and the "name of Vitellius stood in high esteem through-"out the Roman world. From Hordeonius Flaccus "no opposition was to be apprehended. Britain was "ready to declare against Galba, and the German "auxiliaries would follow their example. The pro-"vinces wavered in their duty, and, by consequence, "the precarious authority of a feeble old man would "be soon transferred to other hands. Fortune court-"ed Vitellius: he had nothing to do but to open "his arms, and receive her favours. Verginius, in-"deed, had every thing to chill his hopes, and "damp his resolution. He had no splendid line of "ancestors to recommend him. He was of an eques-"trian family; but his father lived and died in ob-"scurity. A man of his cast would have proved un-"equal to the weight of empire. A private station "was to him a post of safety. The case of Vitellius "was very different. Sprung from a father who had "been three times consul, once in conjunction with "the emperor Claudius, and who, moreover, had "discharged the office of censor, he might well as-"pire to the highest elevation. The honours of his "family marked him out for the imperial dignity. "Too great for a private station, he must reach the "summit of power, or be utterly lost." Notwithstanding this inflammatory speech, the phlegmatic temper of Vitellius was not to be roused. A few faint wishes fluttered at his heart, but hope could find no admission.

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LIII. Meanwhile Cæcina, who served in the army on the Upper Rhine, had drawn to himself the affections of the army. Young, and of a comely figure, tall and well proportioned, with an air of dignity in his deportment, a flow of eloquence, and an aspiring genius, he had all the qualities that made an impression on the military mind. Though a young man, he discharged the office of quæstor in the province of Bætica in Spain, and was among the first that went over to Galba's interest. That emperor, to reward his zeal, gave him the command of a legion in Germany; but finding, afterwards, that he had been guilty of embezzling the public money, he ordered him to be called to a strict account. Cæcina was not of a temper to submit with patience. He resolved to embroil the state, and in the general confusion hoped to find a remedy for his own private afflictions. The seed-plots of rebellion were already laid in the army. In the war against Vindex they had taken the field, and, till they heard that Nero was no more, never declared in favour of Galba. Even in that act of submission, they showed no forward zeal, but suffered the legions on the Lower Rhine to take the lead. There was still another circumstance that helped to sharpen their discontent. The Treviri, the Lingones, and other states, which had felt the severity of Galba's edicts, or had seen their territory reduced to narrower limits, lay contiguous to the winter-quarters of the legions. Hence frequent intercourse, cabals, and seditious meetings, in which the soldiers grew more corrupt, envenomed as they were by the politics of discontented peasants. Hence

their zeal to promote the interest of Verginius, and, when that project failed, their readiness to list under any other chief.

LIV. The Lingones, in token of friendship, had sent presents to the legions, and, in conformity to their ancient usage, the symbolical figure of two right hands clasping one another. Their deputies appeared with the mien and garb of affliction. They went round the camp, and in every quarter disburthened their complaints. In the tents, and in the place for the standards and eagles, they painted forth their own private injuries, while other states enjoyed the favour and the protection of Galba. Finding that they made an impression, they represented to the soldiers the dangers that hung over their own heads, and the hardships under which they laboured. The Romans caught the infection. A general phrensy spread through the camp; the flame of sedition was ready to break out; and some dreadful mischief seemed to be impending, when Hordeonius Flaccus, in the dead of night, ordered the deputies to depart without further delay. A report soon prevailed that they were all treacherously murdered, and that, if the soldiers did not instantly provide for their own safety, the best and bravest of the army would be cruelly butchered, under covert of the night, far from their comrades, and without the knowledge of their friends. A secret combination was immediately formed. The soldiers joined in a bond of union. The auxiliary cohorts, at first suspected of a design to rise against the legions, and put the whole body to

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the sword, entered into the league with eager ardour. Such is the nature of profligate and abandoned minds: in peace and profound tranquillity, they seldom agree; but for seditious purposes a coalition is easily formed.

LV. The legions on the Lower Rhine, on the calends of January, went through the usual form of swearing fidelity to Galba; but the form only was observed. No man was seen to act with alacrity. In the foremost ranks a feeble sound was heard; the words of the oath were repeated with an unwilling murmur, while the rest remained in sullen silence; each man, as usual in dangerous enterprises, expecting the bold example of his comrades, ready to second the insurrection, yet not daring to begin it. A leaven of discordant humours pervaded the whole mass of the army. The first and fifth legions were the most outrageous: some of them pelted the images of Galba with a volley of stones. The fifteenth and sixteenth abstained from acts of violence, but were loud and clamorous: they bawled sedition, but waited for ringleaders to begin the fray.

In the Upper Germany the tumult was still more violent. On the same calends of January, the fourth and eighteenth legions, quartered together in one winter-camp, dashed the images of Galba into fragments. In this outrage the fourth legion led the way; and the eighteenth, after balancing for some time, followed their example. Unwilling, however, to incur the imputation of a rebellion against their country, they agreed to revive the antiquated names of

the SENATE AND ROMAN PEOPLE, and in that republican form took the oath of fidelity. Not one commander of a legion, nor even so much as a tribune, appeared in favour of Galba; on the contrary, many of them, as often happens in cases of public confusion, not only connived, but helped to increase the tumult. The mutineers were still without a leader. No man took upon him to harangue the multitude; no orator ascended the tribunal; nor could the incendiaries tell in whose service their eloquence was to be employed.

LVI. Hordeonius Flaccus beheld this scene of confusion, and, though a consular commander, never once interposed with his authority to restrain the violent, to secure the wavering, or to animate the well affected. He looked on, a calm spectator, tame and passive; it may be added, innocent, but innocent through sluggish indolence. Four centurions of the eighteenth legion, namely, Nonius Receptus, Donatius Valens, Romilius Marcellus, and Calpurnius Repentinus, attempted to defend the images of Galba. The soldiers attacked them with impetuous violence, and all four were loaded with fetters. From that moment all fidelity was at an end. The obligation of the former oath was no longer binding. It happened in this, as in all seditions: one set appeared to be the most numerous, the rest followed the leaders, and the whole herd was of one party. In the course of the night that followed the calends of January, the eagle-bearer of the fourth legion arrived at the Agrippinian colony (*a*), where Vitellius was

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engaged at a banquet, with intelligence, that the fourth and eighteenth legions, having destroyed the images of Galba, took a new form of oath to THE SENATE AND ROMAN PEOPLE. As that government existed no longer, the oath was deemed a nullity. In this crisis it was judged proper to seize the opportunity that fortune offered, and, by the nomination of an emperor, fix the wavering temper of the legions. Dispatches were accordingly sent to inform the army in the Lower Germany, that the soldiers on the Upper Rhine had revolted from Galba, and that, by consequence, it remained for them either to march against the rebels, or, for the sake of peace and mutual concord, to create another emperor. In choosing for themselves they would hazard little; but indecision might be dangerous.

LVII. The winter-quarters (*a*) of the first legion were nearest to the residence of Vitellius. Fabius Valens was the commanding officer; a prompt and daring leader of sedition. On the following day he put himself at the head of the cavalry belonging to his own legion, and, with a party of the auxiliaries, proceeded by a rapid march to the Agrippinian colony. He no sooner entered the city, than he saluted Vitellius by the title of emperor. The legions of the province, with zeal and ardour, followed his example; and three days before the nones of January, the legions in Upper Germany declared for Vitellius, losing all memory of the senate and the Roman people. Those specious words, which a few days before resounded with so much energy, were

dropt at once; and the men, it was now plain, were never in their hearts the soldiers of a republic. The Agrippinian people, the Treveri, and Lingones, were determined not to be behind-hand in demonstrations of zeal. They offered a supply of arms and horses, of men and money, in proportion to their respective abilities. The strong and valiant were willing to serve in person; the rich opened their treasure; and the skilful gave their advice. The leading chiefs, as well in the colonies as in the camp, who had already enriched themselves by the spoils of war, wished for another victory that might bring with it an accumulation of wealth. The zeal with which they entered into the league, was what might be expected; but the alacrity of the common men was beheld with wonder. Poor and destitute, they made a tender of their travelling subsistence, their belts, their accoutrements, and the silver ornaments of their armour; all excited by one general impulse, a sudden fit of blind enthusiasm. In their motives there was, no doubt, a mingle of avarice; and plunder, they hoped, would be the reward of valour.

LVIII. Vitellius, after bestowing the highest praise on the spirit with which the soldiers embraced his cause, proceeded to regulate the various departments of public business. He transferred the offices, hitherto granted to the imperial freedmen, to the Roman knights; and the fees claimed by the centurions for exemptions from duty, were, for the future, to be defrayed out of the revenue of the prince. The fury of the soldiers, demanding ven-

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geance on particular persons, was not to be repressed. He yielded in some instances, and in others eluded their resentment under colour of reserving the obnoxious for heavier punishment. Pompeius Propinquus, the governor of Belgic Gaul, was put to death on the spot; but Julius Burdo, who commanded the German fleet, was saved by an artful stratagem. The army considered that officer as the accuser first, and afterwards as the murderer of Fonteius Capito, whose memory was still held in respect. To pardon openly was not in the power of Vitellius: he could execute in open day; but to be merciful, he was obliged to deceive. Burdo remained in prison till the victory obtained by Vitellius appeased the wrath of the soldiers. He then was set at liberty. In the mean time, Centurio Crispinus, who with his own hand had shed the blood of Capito, suffered as a victim to expiate that atrocious deed. His guilt was manifest; the soldiers demanded his blood, and Vitellius thought a man of that description no kind of loss.

LIX. Julius Civilis was the next whom the army doomed to destruction; but being of high rank and consequence among the Batavians, fear of a rupture with that fierce and warlike people saved his life. There were, at that time, in the territory of the Lingones, no less than eight Batavian cohorts, annexed at first as auxiliaries to the fourteenth legion, but separated in the distraction of the times; a body of men, in that juncture, of the greatest moment. It was in their power to turn the scale in favour of

whatever party they espoused. Nonius, Donatius, Romilius, and Calpurnius, the four centurions already mentioned, were, by order of Vitellius, hurried to execution. They had remained steady in their duty to their prince; and fidelity is a crime which men in open rebellion never pardon. Valerius Asiaticus, the governor of Belgic Gaul, to whom, in a short time after, Vitellius gave his daughter in marriage; and Junius Blæsus, who presided in the province of Lyons, and had under his command the Italic legion (*a*), and the body of horse called the Taurinian cavalry (*b*), went over to the party of the new emperor. The forces in Rhætia were not long in suspense, and the legions in Britain declared, without hesitation, in favour of Vitellius.

LX. Britain was, at that time, governed by Trebellius Maximus (*a*); a man, for his avarice and sordid practices, despised and hated by the army. Between him and Roscius Cælius, who commanded the twentieth legion, there had been a long subsisting quarrel, renewed of late with keener acrimony, and embittered by the distractions of a civil war. Cælius was charged by his superior officer with being the fomenter of sedition, and an enemy to discipline and good order: in return, he recriminated, alleging that the commander in chief plundered the legions, and left the soldiers to languish in distress and poverty. From this dissention between their officers the common men caught the infection. All discipline was at an end. Licentiousness prevailed, and the tumult arose at length to such a height,

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that Trebellius, insulted openly by the auxiliaries, deserted by the cavalry, and betrayed by the cohorts, was obliged to fly for refuge to Vitellius. The province, however, notwithstanding the flight of a consular governor, remained in a perfect state of tranquillity. The commanders of the legions held the reins of government, by their commissions equal in authority, but eclipsed by the enterprising genius and the daring spirit of Cælius.

LXI. The arrival of the forces from Britain was an accession of strength; and thereupon Vitellius, flushed with hope, abounding in resources, and strong in numbers, resolved to carry the war into Italy by two different routes, under the conduct of two commanders. Fabius Valens was sent forward, with instructions to draw to his interest the people of Gaul, and, if he found them obstinate, to lay waste their country with fire and sword. He was afterwards to pass over the *Cottian Alps* (*a*), and make an irruption into Italy. Cæcina, the other general, was ordered to take a nearer way, over the Penine mountains, and make his descent on that side. The flower of the army from the Lower Rhine, with the eagle of the fifth legion, and the cohorts and cavalry, amounting to forty thousand men, were put under the command of Valens. Cæcina advanced from the Upper Germany with no less than thirty thousand, of which the one-and-twentieth legion was the main strength. Each commander had a reinforcement of German auxiliaries. Vitellius followed them, with a third army, to crush whatever resisted, and bring up the whole weight of the war.

LXII. The new emperor and his army presented a striking contrast: the soldiers burned with impatience, and with one voice demanded to be led against the enemy. "It was time," they said, "to "push on the war with vigour, while the two Gauls "are in commotion, and Spain is yet undecided. "The winter season is far from being an obstacle; "nor were the men to be amused with idle negotia- "tions to bring on a compromise. Italy, in all events, "must be invaded, and Rome taken by storm. In "civil dissentions, it is expedition that gives life "and energy to all military operations. The crisis "calls for vigour, and debate was out of season." Vitellius, in the mean time, loitered away his time in dull repose, lifeless, torpid, drunk at noon-day, and overwhelmed with gluttony (*a*). The imperial dignity, he thought, consisted in riot and profusion, and he resolved to enjoy the prerogative of a prince. The spirit of the soldiers supplied the defects of their prince. They neither wanted him in the ranks to animate the brave, nor to rouse the tardy and inactive. Each man was his own general. With one consent they formed the ranks, and demanded the signal for the march. They saluted Vitellius by the name of Germanicus (*b*); that of Cæsar he chose to decline, and even after his victory always rejected it. Valens began his march. On that very day his army beheld a joyful omen. An eagle appeared at the head of the lines, measuring his flight by the movement of the soldiers, as if to guide them on their way. The air resounded with shouts of joy, while the bird proceeded in the same regular course, undismayed by the uproar, and still seeming to direct the march. A

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phænomenon so unusual was considered as a sure prognostic of a signal victory.

LXIII. The army advanced in good order towards the state of the Treviri, whom they considered as their friends and allies. At Divodurum (*a*) (a city of the Mediomatrici) they received every mark of kindness, but were seized unaccountably with a sudden panic, in its effect so extraordinary, that the soldiers grasped their arms, and fell upon the innocent inhabitants sword in hand. In this dreadful outrage the love of plunder had no share; a sudden phrensy possessed every mind; and, as the cause was unknown, no remedy could be applied. No less than four thousand men were massacred; and, if the entreaties of the general had not at length prevailed, the whole city had been laid in blood. The rest of Gaul was alarmed by this horrible catastrophe to such a degree, that, wherever the army approached, whole cities, with the magistrates at their head, went forth in a suppliant manner to sue for mercy. Mothers with their children lay prostrate on the ground, as if a conquering enemy advanced against them; and, though nothing like hostility subsisted, the wretched people were obliged, in profound peace, to deprecate all the horrors of war.

LXIV. Valens arrived with his army at the capital city of the Leucians (*a*). At that place he received intelligence of the murder of Galba, and the accession of Otho. The news made no impression on the soldiers. Unmoved by joy or fear, they thought

of nothing but the spoils of war. The Gauls, released by this event from their attachment to Galba, were now at liberty to choose their party. Otho and Vitellius were objects of their detestation; but they feared the latter. The army proceeded on their march to the territory of the Lingones, a people well disposed towards Vitellius. They met with a friendly reception, and passed their time in acts of mutual kindness. But this amicable intercourse was interrupted by the intemperance of the cohort (*b*), which had been separated, as already mentioned, from the fourteenth legion, and by Valens incorporated with his army. Being of the Batavian nation, and by nature fierce and warlike, they lived on bad terms with the legions. Opprobrious words passed between them; from words contention arose: the legionary soldiers entered into the dispute, and joined the different parties as judgment or inclination prompted. The quarrel rose to such a pitch, that, if Valens had not interposed, and, by making a few examples, recalled the Batavians to a sense of their duty, a bloody battle must have been the consequence.

A colourable pretext for falling on the Æduans was the ardent wish of the army; but that people not only complied with the demand of money and arms, but added a voluntary supply of provisions. What was thus done by the Æduans through motives of fear, the people of Lyons performed with inclination and zeal to serve the cause of Vitellius. From that city the ITALIC LEGION and the TAURINIAN CAVALRY were ordered to join the army. The eighteenth cohort (*c*), which had been used to

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winter there, was left in garrison. Manlius Valens at that time commanded the Italic legion. This officer had rendered good service to the cause; but his services were repaid with ingratitude by Vitellius. The fact was, Fabius Valens, the commander in chief, had given a secret stab to his reputation, and, to cover his malice, played an artful game, with all the plausible appearance of sly hypocrisy. In public he praised the person whom he wounded in the dark.

LXV. The late war had kindled afresh the deadly feud, which had long subsisted between the people of Lyons and the inhabitants of Vienne (*a*). In the various battles, which they had fought with alternate success, and prodigious slaughter, it was visible that so much animosity was not merely the effect of party-rage in a contest between Nero and Galba. The people of Lyons had felt the weight of Galba's displeasure; they saw their revenues (*b*) wrested out of their hands, and confiscated to the imperial treasury, while their inveterate enemies enjoyed the favours of the emperor. Hence a new source of jealousy. The two cities were separated by a river (*c*); but they were hostile neighbours, and they saw each other with inflamed resentment. Revenge and malice were not to be appeased. The citizens of Lyons omitted nothing that could excite the legions against their rivals: they talked with the soldiers, man by man, and nothing less than the utter destruction of Vienne could satisfy their indignation. "Lyons," they said, "had been besieged by their mortal ene-

"mies, who had taken up arms in the cause of Vin-
"dex, and lately raised recruits to complete the le-
"gions in the service of Galba." To these incentives they added the temptation of plunder in a rich and opulent city. Finding that they had infused their rancour into the minds of the soldiers, they no longer depended on secret practices, but openly, and in a body, preferred their petition, imploring the army to march forth the redressers of wrong, and rase to the ground a city, that had been the nursery of war, and a hive of enemies; a foreign race, who hated the Roman name. Lyons, they said, was a confederate colony (*d*), a portion of the army, willing, at all times, to share in the good or evil fortune of the empire. The issue of the present war might be disastrous to their party. They therefore implored the legions not to leave them, in the event of a defeat, at the mercy of a furious and implacable enemy.

LXVI. These entreaties had their effect. The legions were roused to vengeance, and the flame rose to such a height, that the commanders and other officers despaired of being able to extinguish it. The inhabitants of Vienne had notice of their danger. They came forth in solemn procession, bearing in their hands (*e*) the sacred vestments, and all the usual tokens of peace and humble supplication. They met the Romans on their march, and, falling prostrate on the ground, clasped their knees, and in a pathetic strain deprecated the vengeance ready to burst upon them. Fabius Valens judged it expedient to order a distribution of three hundred

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sesterces to each man. The soldiers began to relent, and the colony was respected for its worth and ancient dignity. The general pleaded in behalf of the inhabitants, and was heard with attention. The state, however, was obliged to furnish a supply of arms and warlike stores. Individuals, with emulation, contributed from their private stock. The report, however, was, that the people, in good time, applied a large sum of money, and purchased the protection of the commander in chief. Thus much is certain, that, after being for a long time depressed with poverty, he grew suddenly rich, but took no pains to conceal his affluence. The art of rising in the world with moderation, was not the talent of Valens. His passions had been restrained by indigence, and now, when fortune smiled, the sudden taste of pleasure hurried him into excess. A beggar in his youth, he was, in old age, a voluptuous prodigal.

The army proceeded by slow marches through the territory of the Allobrogians, and thence to the Vocontians; the general, during the whole progress, making his market at every place, and selling his favours for a sum of money. For a bribe he fixed the length of each day's march, and shifted his camp for a price agreed upon between him and the owners of the lands. In all these exactions Valens enforced his orders with unrelenting cruelty, nor did he blush to drive open bargains with the magistrates of the several cities. Torches and firebrands were prepared to fire the town of Lucus, situate in the territory of the Vocontians; and the place would infallibly have been burnt to the ground, if the people had not ran-

somed themselves with a considerable sum. Where pecuniary bribes were not to be had, women were obliged to resign their persons, and prostitution became the price of common humanity. In this manner, gratifying his avarice, or his brutal passions, Valens arrived at the foot of the Alps.

LXVII. Cæcina, who commanded the second army, marked his way with greater rapine and more horrible cruelty. He found in the territory of the Helvetians abundant cause to provoke a man of his ferocious temper. The people of that district, originally a Gallic nation (*a*), were renowned in former times for their valour, and their exploits in war. Of late years, the history of their ancestors was their only glory. Not having heard of the death of Galba, they were unwilling to acknowledge Vitellius. In this disposition of their minds, they had soon a cause of quarrel, occasioned by the rapacity of the twenty-first legion. That body of men fell in with a party, who were escorting a sum of money to a strong fort, where the Helvetians had immemorially maintained a garrison. The Romans seized the whole as lawful plunder. An act of violence, so unwarranted, raised the indignation of the people. Determined to make reprisals, they intercepted a small party on their way to Pannonia, with letters from the German army to the legions stationed in that country. They seized the papers, and detained in custody a centurion with some of his soldiers. This, to such a man as Cæcina, was ample provocation. He wished for nothing so much as a pretence for open hostility.

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Whenever he took umbrage, he struck his blow without delay. To defer the punishment, were to leave time for repentance. He marched against the Helvetians, and, having laid waste the country, sacked a place, built, during the leisure of a long peace, in the form of a municipal town, remarkable for the beauty of the situation, and, by reason of its salubrious waters (*b*), much frequented. Not content with this act of revenge, he sent dispatches into Rhætia, with orders to the auxiliaries of that country to hang upon the rear of the Helvetians, while he advanced to attack them in front.

LXVIII. The spirit of the Helvetians, fierce and intrepid, while the danger was at a distance, began to droop as soon as the war drew nearer. In the beginning of these hostilities they had chosen Claudius Severus to command their forces, but terror and confusion followed. They neither knew the use of their arms, nor the advantage of discipline. To keep their ranks in battle was not their practice, nor were they able to act in concert with their united force. The contest they now perceived must be unequal with a veteran army; and, their fortifications being every where in decay, to stand a siege was not advisable. Cæcina advanced at the head of a numerous army; the cavalry and auxiliary forces from Rhætia, with the youth of that country, enured to arms, and trained to the art of war, were ready to attack them in the rear. The country was laid waste, and a dreadful carnage followed. The Helvetians betook themselves to flight; and, after wandering about in a

general panic, wounded, maimed, and unable to resist, they threw down their arms, and fled for refuge to the mountain, known by the name of Vocetius (*a*). A band of Thracians was sent to dislodge them. Driven from their fastness, they betook themselves to the woods, or fled to their lurking-places, while the Germans and Rhætians hung upon them in their flight. Several thousands were put to the sword, or sold to slavery. Having ravaged the country, and laid a scene of desolation, the army marched to the siege of Aventicum (*b*), the capital city of the Helvetians. The inhabitants sent their deputies, offering to surrender at discretion. Their submission was accepted. Julius Alpinus, one of the leading chiefs, charged with being the author of the war, was by order of Cæcina publicly executed. The rest were left to the mercy or resentment of Vitellius.

LXIX. The Helvetians sent their ambassadors to the new emperor; but which was most implacable, he or his army, it is difficult to decide. The soldiers clamoured for the utter destruction of the whole race. They brandished their arms in the face of the ambassadors, and threatened blows and brutal violence. Vitellius showed no less ferocity. He gave vent to a torrent of abuse, and threw out violent menaces. At length Claudius Cossus, one of the deputies, who possessed an uncommon share of eloquence, but had the skill, under an appearance of well-acted terror, to conceal his power over the passions of his audience, had the address to sooth the minds of the soldiers. Their rage subsided, and

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compassion took its turn. Such is the nature of the multitude; easily inflamed, and with a sudden transition shifting to the opposite extreme. They melted into tears, and never ceased their supplications till they prevailed on Vitellius, and saved the people from destruction.

LXX. Cæcina, wanting further instructions from Vitellius, and, at the same time, making all proper arrangements for his passage over the Alps, halted for a few days in the territory of the Helvetians. In that situation, he received intelligence that the squadron of horse called Sylla's squadron (*a*), at that time quartered on the banks of the Po, had sworn fidelity to Vitellius. They had formerly served under Vitellius, when he was the proconsular governor (*b*) of Africa. Nero, when he projected an expedition into Ægypt, ordered them to sail for that country; but, being soon after alarmed by the commotions stirred up by Vindex, he called them back to Italy, where they remained from that time. Their officers, unacquainted with Otho, and closely connected with Vitellius, espoused the interest of the latter. By representing to the men the strength of the legions then on their march to the invasion of Italy, and by extolling the valour of the German armies, they drew the whole squadron into their party. As a further proof of their zeal for their new prince, they attracted to his interest the chief municipal towns on the other side of the Po, namely, Mediolanum (*c*), Novaria, Eporedia, and Vercelles. Of this fact Cæcina was apprised by dispatches from the officers. But a single

squadron, he knew, was not sufficient to defend so large a tract of country. In order to reinforce them, he sent forward the cohorts of Gaul, of Lusitania, and Britain, with the succours from Germany, and the squadron of horse called the ALA PETRINA (*d*). How he himself should pass into Italy, was his next consideration. His first plan was to march over the Rhætian mountains (*e*), in order to make a descent into Noricum, where Petronius Urbicus, the governor of the province, supposed to be a partisan in Otho's service, was busy in collecting forces, and destroying the bridges over the rivers. But this enterprise was soon relinquished. The detachment already sent forward might be cut off, and, after all, the secure possession of Italy was the important object. The issue of the war, wherever decided, would draw after it all inferior places, and Noricum would fall, by consequence, into the hands of the conqueror. He resolved, therefore, to proceed by the shortest way into Italy. For this purpose, he ordered the troops lightly armed to proceed on their journey, and, with the legions heavily armed, he marched himself over the Penine Alps (*f*), through a waste of snow, and all the rigours of the winter season.

LXXI. Otho, in the mean time, displayed a new and unexpected character. He renounced his love of pleasure, or, at least, dissembled for the present. Scorning to loiter in luxury and inglorious ease, he assumed a spirit becoming the majesty of empire. And yet the change diffused a general terror: men knew that his virtues were false, and they dreaded

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a return of his former vices. He ordered Marius Celsus, the consul elect, whom he had put in irons (*a*) in order to rescue him from the hands of the soldiers, to appear before him in the capitol. To acquire the fame of clemency, by releasing a man of illustrious character, and well known to be an enemy to Otho and his party, was the object of his ambition. Celsus appeared with unshaken constancy. He confessed the crime of adhering faithfully to the unfortunate Galba, and, by that firmness, gave the emperor a fair opportunity to grace his character. Otho did not assume the tone of a sovereign granting pardon to a criminal; but, to show that he could think generously of an enemy, and to remove all doubt of the sincerity of his reconciliation, he received Celsus among his intimate friends, and, in a short time afterwards, appointed him one of his generals to conduct the war. Celsus accepted the commission, and remained steady to his trust. His fidelity was honourable, but unfortunate. The clemency of the prince gave great satisfaction to the leading men at Rome; the populace applauded, and even the soldiers admired the virtue which they had condemned.

LXXII. The joy excited on this occassion was followed by an event no less acceptable, but for reasons of a different nature. The public voice was loud against Sophonius Tigellinus (*a*), and accordingly his doom was fixed. From low beginnings this man had raised himself to eminence in the state. His birth was obscure. Stained in his youth with the worst impurities, he retained, in his advanced

years, all his early habits, and closed with disgrace a life begun in infamy. By his vices, the surest road to preferment, he obtained the command, first of the city cohorts, and afterwards of the prætorian guards. The rewards which were due to virtue only, he obtained by his crimes. To his effeminate qualities he united some of those rougher evils which may be called manly passions, such as avarice and cruelty. Having gained an entire ascendant over the affections of Nero, he was, in some instances, the adviser of the horrors committed by that prince, and in others the chief actor, without the knowledge of his master. He corrupted Nero at first, and in the end deserted him. Hence it was that the blood of a criminal was never demanded with such violent clamour. The men who detested the memory of Nero, and those who still regretted him, concurred in one opinion. They all joined in the cry for public justice. During the short reign of Galba, he lived secure under the protection of Titus Vinius. In fact, he had some merit with that minister, having saved the life of his daughter; but, in that very act, humanity was not his motive. A man who had shed so much innocent blood, could not be suspected of a single virtue. His design was, by a new connection, to screen himself from future danger.

Such at all times is the policy of the worst of men: they dread a reverse of fortune, and, in the hour of need, hope to shelter themselves under the protection of some pernicious favourite. Innocence is no part of their care; they know that the guilty are ever ready to defend each other. But the friendship

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of Vinius, who was still remembered with detestation, was an additional spur to the populace. They crowded together from all quarters; they surrounded the palace; they filled the forum; and in the circus and the theatre, where licentiousness is most apt to show itself, they clamoured, with a degree of violence little short of sedition, for the punishment of a vile malefactor. Tigellinus was then at the baths of Sinuessa (*b*). Orders were sent to him to put a period to his life. He received the fatal news in a circle of his concubines; he took leave with tenderness; and after mutual embraces, and other trifling delays, he cut his throat with a razor; by the pusillanimity of his last moments disgracing even the infamy of his former life.

LXXIII. About the same time, the execution of Calvia Crispinilla (*a*) was demanded by the public voice: but by various artifices, in which the duplicity of the prince covered him with dishonour, she was saved from danger. She had been, in the reign of Nero, the professed teacher of lascivious pleasures, and, in the various scenes of that emperor, the caterer for his appetite. She passed afterwards into Africa, and, having instigated Clodius Macer to revolt, became an accomplice in the plot to cause a famine in the city of Rome. She was married soon after to a man of consular rank, and, by that connection, gained a powerful interest, insomuch that, during the reigns of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, she lived in perfect security. Even in the following reign she was high in credit. Her riches, and her want of

children, placed her in a flourishing state; and those two circumstances, in good as well as evil times, are sure to be of weight.

LXXIV. Otho, in the mean time, endeavoured by frequent letters to divert Vitellius from his purpose. His proposals were in the soft style of female persuasion; he offered money, and a retreat for voluptuous enjoyments, with all that the prince's favour could bestow. Vitellius answered in the same delicate strain. Both parties corresponded in dainty terms, with dissembled hatred, and frivolous negotiation, till, exasperated by want of success, they changed their tone, and, with unguarded invective, charged each other with criminal pleasures and flagitious deeds. Both had truth on their sides. Weary of altercation, Otho recalled the deputies, who had been sent by Galba, and, in their room, dispatched others to the German army, to the Italic legion, and the troops quartered at Lyons, with instructions to negotiate in the name of the senate. The men employed in this embassy tarried with Vitellius, and, by their cheerful compliance, left no room to think that they were detained by force. Under pretence of doing honour to the embassy, Otho had sent a detachment of the prætorian guards. Without suffering them to mix with the soldiers, Vitellius ordered them to return without delay. Fabius Valens took the opportunity to write, in the name of the German army, to the prætorian guards. His letters, in a style of magnificence, set forth the strength of the legions, and, at the same time, offer-

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ed terms of mutual concord. He condemned the forward zeal, with which they presumed to transfer to Otho an empire which had been vested in Vitellius. He mingled promises with expressions of anger, and, after treating the prætorians as men unequal to an important war, gave them assurances that they would lose nothing by peace and unanimity. These letters, however, were without effect. The prætorians continued firm in their duty.

LXXV. The rival chiefs began to lay snares for each other. They waged a war of treachery. Emissaries were sent by Otho into Germany, and others by Vitellius to Rome. Both parties missed their aim. The agents of Vitellius passed undetected. Amidst a concourse of people, in so vast a city as Rome, they could lurk with impunity; while, on the other hand, in a camp where all were known to each other, the men employed by Otho were soon discovered by the novelty of their faces. Vitellius, anxious for his family, then residing at Rome, sent letters to Titianus, the brother of Otho, threatening, if any violence was offered to his mother or his children (*a*), to make reprisals, and put both him and his son to death. Both families remained unhurt. As long as Otho lived, fear might be the motive: Vitellius, after his victory, added to his laurels the palm of clemency.

LXXVI. The first occurrence that inspired Otho with confidence in his cause, was an account from Illyricum that the legions of Dalmatia, of Pannonia,

and Mæsia had declared in his favour. Advices from Spain brought the like intelligence; and in a public edict, honourable mention was made of Cluvius Rufus, the governor of the province. That compliment, however, was found to be premature. Spain went over to the interest of Vitellius. The people of Aquitaine, under the influence of Julius Cordus, had sworn obedience to Otho; but a little time showed, that the obligation of an oath was no longer binding. All principle, all affection, and all truth were banished. Fear, and the necessity of the times, governed in every quarter. Narbon Gaul acceded to Vitellius. A party in force, and near at hand, found no difficulty in drawing their neighbours into a league with themselves. The distant provinces, and all places separated by the Mediterranean, adhered to Otho, not from motives of regard for him or his party, but because the name of Rome and the senate was still respected by foreign nations. Besides this, Otho, being the first announced in foreign parts, had already made his impression. The army of Judæa, under the conduct of Vespasian, and that in Syria, under Mucianus, swore fidelity to Otho. Egypt, and the provinces in the East, acknowledged his authority. The same disposition prevailed in Africa. That whole country was willing to follow the example set by the people of Carthage. In that city, without any order or authority from Vipsanius Apronianus, then proconsular governor of the province, a public treat was given by a pragmatical fellow, of the name of Crescens, one of Nero's freedmen, who had the ambition to distin-

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guish himself as an active partisan in the interest of Otho. Such, in times of public distraction, is the presumption of the lowest men in the state. They think it time to emerge from their obscurity, and act their part, as if they had an interest in the commonwealth. The mob of Carthage expressed their zeal with all demonstrations of joy, and the rest of Africa followed their example.

LXXVII. In this posture of affairs, while the armies and the several provinces embraced opposite interests, it was evident that Vitellius, to secure his title, had nothing left but the decision of the sword. Otho, in the mean time, remained at Rome, discharging all the functions of the sovereign power, as if he was established in profound tranquillity. His conduct, in some instances, was such as became the dignity of the state; but his measures, for the most part, were hastily adopted, the mere expedients of the day. He named himself and his brother Titianus joint consuls (*a*), to continue in office till the calends of March. For the two following months, with a view to curry favour with the German army, he appointed Verginius, and gave him for his colleague Poppæus Vopiscus. For the nomination of the latter he pretended motives of friendship; but, as men of penetration thought, his real view was to pay court to the people of Vienne. With regard to future consuls, no alteration was made in the arrangements settled by Nero or by Galba. Cælius Sabinus and his brother Flavius were to succeed for the months of May and June. From the first of July to Septem-

ber, Arrius Antoninus (*b*) and Marius Celsus were to be in office. Nor did Vitellius, after his victory, disturb this order of succession. Otho, at the same time, thought proper to grant the augural and pontifical dignities, as the summit of civil honours, to such of the senators as were grown gray in public stations; nor was he unmindful of the young patricians lately recalled from banishment. To sooth the remembrance of their sufferings, he bestowed upon them the sacerdotal honours which had been enjoyed by their ancestors. Cadius Rufus (*c*), Pedius Blæsus, and Sævinus Pomtinus, who under Claudius or Nero had been charged with extortion, and expelled the senate, were restored to their rank. To varnish this proceeding, the real offence was suppressed, and what was, in fact, public rapine, in the style of the pardon took the name of violated majesty; a charge held in such general detestation, that, to elude it, the best and wisest laws were set aside.

LXXVIII. In order to extend his popularity, Otho, in the next place, turned his thoughts to the cities and provinces, little doubting but by acts of munificence he should be able to strengthen his interest. To the colonies of Hispalis and Emerita (*a*), then on the decline, he transplanted a number of families: the Lingones were honoured with the privileges of Roman citizens, and to the province of Bætica all the Moorish cities were annexed. He gave a new code of laws to Cappadocia, and another to Africa; all popular grants, and splendid for the present, but soon to fade away, and sink into ob-

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livion. Amidst these innovations, all of them temporizing acts, occasioned by the pressure of his affairs, and perhaps on that account excusable, he did not forget his tender passions. Even in the moment when the sovereign power was still at stake, his love of Poppæa was not extinguished. With fond remembrance of that connection, he caused her statues to be restored by a decree of the senate. There is reason to think, that, with a view to popularity, he intended to celebrate the memory of Nero with public honours. Many were for erecting the statues of that emperor (*b*), and even proposed it as a public measure. The populace and the soldiers, as if they meant to decorate their emperor with additional splendour, saluted him by the title of NERO OTHO. He heard their acclamations, but remained silent; perhaps unwilling to reject the compliment, perhaps ashamed to accept it.

LXXIX. The public mind being now intent on the great scene that began to open, no wonder if foreign affairs fell into neglect. Encouraged by the inattention that prevailed at Rome, the Rhoxolanians, a people of Sarmatia, who in the preceding winter had cut off two entire cohorts, made an irruption into the province of Mæsia, with nine thousand horse; a band of freebooters, determined to ravage the country. Plunder, and not war, was their passion. They prowled about in quest of prey, without order, or apprehension of an enemy, when, on a sudden, they found themselves hemmed in by the third legion and their auxiliaries. The Romans ad-

vanced in order of battle. The Sarmatians, overloaded with booty, were taken by surprise. On a damp and slippery soil, the swiftness of their horses was of no use. Unable to retreat, they were cut to pieces, more like men bound in fetters, than soldiers armed for the field of battle. It may seem strange, but it is not less true, that the courage of the Sarmatians has no inward principle, but depends altogether upon external circumstances; a kind of courage, that has no source in the mind, but may be said to be out of the man. In an engagement with the infantry, nothing can be more dastardly; in an onset of the cavalry, they are impetuous, fierce, and irresistible. Their weapons are long spears or sabres of an enormous size, which they wield with both hands. The chiefs wear coats of mail, formed with plates of iron, or the tough hides of animals, impenetrable to the enemy, but to themselves an incumbrance so unwieldy, that he who falls in battle is never able to rise again.

In their encounter with the Romans, a heavy fall of rain and a sudden thaw deprived them of all advantage from the velocity of their horses; the consequence was, that they were overwhelmed in a deep waste of snow. The light breast-plates of the Romans were no impediment. With their missive weapons, and their swords of a moderate length, they were able to rush into the thickest ranks; while the Sarmatians, who wear neither shield nor buckler, were a mark at a distance, or in close engagement cut to pieces. The few who escaped from the slaughter, fled for refuge to their fens and marshes,

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and there died of their wounds, or perished under the inclemency of the season. An account of this transaction being received at Rome, a triumphal statue was decreed to Marcus Aponius, then governor of Mæsia. Fulvius Aurelius, Julianus Titius, and Numisius Lupus, all three commanders of legions, obtained the consular ornaments. The joy expressed by Otho was beyond all bounds. He assumed the merit of the victory, boasting with vain glory, that, by his own auspicious fortune, and the valour of his officers and his armies, he had aggrandized the Roman name.

LXXX. From a cause altogether contemptible, and in its origin threatening no kind of danger, a violent sedition well nigh involved the city in ruin. The seventeenth cohort, then quartered at Ostia, had orders to remove to Rome. The care of providing them with arms was committed to Varius Crispinus, a tribune of the prætorian bands. That officer, intending to execute his orders without noise or bustle, chose his time towards the close of day, when the camp was quiet. He opened the magazine of arms, and ordered the waggons to be loaded. The lateness of the hour filled the men with suspicion; the intention seemed dark and dangerous, and the affectation of secrecy produced a general tumult. The soldiers were in liquor, and, at the sight of their arms, reasoning like drunken men, they thought it their business to seize them without delay. They murmured, they complained; they charged the tribunes and centurions with treachery, declaring aloud,

that a dark conspiracy was formed, with intention to arm the slaves and domestics of the senators against the life of Otho. A scene of uproar and confusion followed. Some were stupefied with liquor, and comprehended nothing: the profligate liked the opportunity to commit midnight plunder; and the multitude, as usual, were ready to mix in any sudden commotion. Those who regarded discipline and good order were undistinguished in the dark. The tribune, who attempted to restrain their fury, was murdered on the spot. The centurions, who exerted themselves on the occasion, suffered in like manner. The soldiers seized their arms; they mounted their horses, and, entering the city sword in hand, rushed in a body to the imperial palace.

LXXXI. Otho was engaged at a grand entertainment, to which he had invited the most distinguished of both sexes. A sudden terror seized the whole company. The cause was unknown. Was it an accidental fray among the soldiers, or the perfidy of the emperor? What was to be done? Should they stay and perish together? or was it more advisable to disperse, and fly different ways? In the hurry and agitation no one could decide. They made a show of resolution: their courage failed; they stood covered with consternation, and, with their eyes fixed on Otho, endeavoured to peruse his countenance. The usual fate of suspicious minds attended them all. They were afraid of Otho, and he stood trembling for himself. He trembled also for the senate, and thought of their danger no less than of his own.

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He ordered the two prætorian commanders to go forth, in order to appease the tumult, and, in the mean time, advised his company to depart. They fled with precipitation. The magistrates threw aside the ensigns of their office, and dispersed without their friends, without their train of attendants. Old men and women of distinction wandered about in the dark, they knew not whither. Few dared to venture towards their own habitations. The greatest part took shelter with their friends; and where the meanest of their dependants lived, that place they thought the safest refuge.

LXXXII. The madness of the soldiers was not to be controlled. They burst the palace gates, and rushed forward to the banqueting room, with outrageous clamour demanding a sight of Otho. Julius Martialis, one of the tribunes, and Vitellius Saturninus, the præfect of the legion, endeavoured to oppose the torrent, and were both wounded in the fray. Nothing was to be seen but the flash of arms, and nothing heard but threats and denunciations of vengeance, now against the centurions, and, at times, against the whole body of the senate. The soldiers neither knew the cause nor the object of their phrensy, and, having no particular victim in view, they resolved to lay a scene of general slaughter. They forced their way into the apartment of the prince. Otho, forgetting his own rank and the majesty of empire, stood up on his couch with tears and supplications imploring the soldiers to desist. He prevailed at length. The men retired to the

camp, with a sullen spirit, and guilt at their hearts. On the following day, Rome had the appearance of a city taken by assault. The houses were shut, the streets deserted, the populace in a general panic. The soldiers wandered about in a sullen mood, with looks of discontent, rather than repentance. The two præfects, Licinius Proculus and Plotius Firmus, went round to the several companies, and harangued the men, each according to his own peculiar temper, in soothing terms, or in a style of reproach. A distribution of five thousand sesterces to each man concluded the business. The tumult over, Otho ventured to enter the camp. The tribunes and centurions gathered round him, but without the military ornaments of their rank, praying to be dismissed from the service, that they might retire to live in ease and safety. The soldiers felt the request as a reproach for their own conduct. Remorse and sorrow took possession of every mind. They expressed their willingness to return to their duty, and, of their own motion, desired to see the authors of the insurrection brought to punishment.

LXXXIII. In this delicate conjuncture, when the times were big with danger, and a discordant soldiery heightened the distraction, Otho felt that he had a difficult game to play. All, who wished well to the service, called for an immediate reform of the army; while, on the other hand, the loose and profligate, always the greatest number, liked nothing so well as tumult and insurrections, under the conduct of an ambitious leader. To such minds, Otho

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knew that the strongest motives to a civil war are the hopes of growing rich by the spoils of the public; nor was he to learn, that power obtained by guilt, is incompatible with a new system of laws and the rigour of ancient manners. But still the danger that hung over the city and the Roman senate, filled him with anxiety. In this alarming situation, he spoke to the following effect:

"I come not now, my fellow-soldiers, to excite "your zeal for me and the cause in which we are "engaged; much less do I come to add new ardour "to your courage. Both are too well known: they "need no incentive. Perhaps some restraint may "be necessary; perhaps the zeal, that pervades you "all, requires a degree of moderation. In the late "tumult, it was not the love of plunder, nor ill-will "to any man, or any set of men, that urged you on. "From those motives, discord and mutiny have "often broke out in various armies; but upon your "conduct they had no effect. Nor was there in that "transaction any fear of danger, or so much as a "wish to renounce your duty. It was your regard "for me, sincere indeed, but generous to excess, "that hurried you on to acts of intemperance, and "even violence. You listened to your passions, but "not to your judgment; and where judgment does "not direct and guide, the best counsels and the "best cause are often ruined. We are going forth "to a great and important war. And must all intel-"ligence be communicated to the army? Must "every secret be disclosed? And must councils of "war be held in a public assembly of the soldiers?

"The reason of things, and the opportunity, which "must be seized at once or lost for ever, will not "allow a mode of proceeding so slow and danger-"ous to the service. To know some things is the "duty of the soldier; in others, not to be informed "is his happiness, and submission is his virtue. "Even the tribunes and centurions must often re-"ceive their orders, without a reason assigned: to "know the motives that weigh with the general, is "not their province; to obey is the duty of the in-"ferior officer. If every subaltern may discuss the "operations of war, and cavil with the commander "in chief, subordination ceases, discipline is at an "end, and, the best concerted enterprise may be "defeated. And are we now to imagine, that the "soldier, when the enemy is at hand, may seize his "arms, and, as caprice or fancy prompts, sally forth "in the dead of night? Shall two or three drunken "men (in the last night's fray, I do not believe "there were more) imbrue their hands in the blood "of their officers? Shall they murder the centurions, "and, in a fit of phrensy, rush to the pavilion of "their general?

LXXXIV. "You, my fellow-soldiers, have "transgressed the bounds of your duty; the fact "must be admitted; but your zeal for me was the "cause. And yet, reflect for a moment, what might "have been the consequence? Amidst that general "uproar, in the gloom of midnight darkness, the "assassin's blow might have been aimed at me, "whom you wished to defend. Give Vitellius his

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"option; let him and his rebel soldiers have the "power of choosing, and what greater curse could "they invoke? what calamity could they call down "upon us, so much to be dreaded, as a turbulent "and factious spirit, and all the evils of discord and "sedition? Let the soldier refuse to obey his cen-"turion; let the centurion shake off the authority of "the tribune; let the cavalry and the foot soldiers "be intermixed, without order or distinction; and "let us all, in one promiscuous body, go forward "to the war. Need our enemies wish for more? "We should rush on sure destruction. It is obe-"dience, my fellow-soldiers, implicit, prompt obe-"dience (*a*), without pausing to wrangle with our "superior officer, that gives to military operations "all their energy. The army that shows itself, in "time of peace, attentive to discipline and good "order, is sure to be the most formidable in the day "of battle. It is yours to arm in the cause of your "country, and to face the enemy with heroic valour: "be it mine to form the plan of operations, and, in "the execution, to direct and guide the courage of "the army. The guilt of last night extends to a "few only; and of those few, two only shall expiate "the offence. That done, let us bury in oblivion "the horrors of that shameful tumult; and may no "other army hear those dreadful imprecations ut-"tered against a Roman senate! Against that vene-"rable body, the head of the empire, and the "fountain, from which justice flows through the "provinces, not even Vitellius, nor his rash-levied "crew of Germans, would dare to meditate so vile "a deed.

"And can there be in Italy a race of men, the "genuine offspring of Roman citizens, who are "capable of so foul a parricide? who can lift their "impious hands against the sacred order, from "whom our cause derives so much lustre, to the "confusion of Vitellius and the scum of nations "that follows him to the field? Some states, it is "true, have been induced to join his standard; he "has the appearance of an army; but the senate is "on our side. The commonwealth is with us; our "enemies are the enemies of Rome. And when I "mention Rome, when you yourselves behold that "magnificent city, do you imagine that it consists "in walls, and buildings, and a pile of stones? In-"animate structures and mute and senseless edifices "may moulder away, and rise again out of their "ruins; but the stability of empire depends upon the "senate: upon the safety of that august assembly, "the welfare of the community, the peace of nations, "your fate and mine are grafted. It was Romulus, "the founder of the city, and the father of the "Roman state, who instituted, with solemn aus-"pices, that sacred order. It has subsisted in "vigour from that time; from the expulsion of "Tarquin, to the establishment of the Cæsars, it "has been preserved inviolate. We received it "from our ancestors; let us transmit it to our pos-"terity, unshaken, unimpaired, immortal. From "your order, from the people at large, the senate "is supplied with its brightest ornaments, and from "the senate you derive a succession of princes."

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LXXXV. This speech, seasoned with reproof, yet tempered with conciliating language, was favourably received; and the moderation of the prince, who punished only two of the mutineers, gave general satisfaction. By that lenient measure, the soldiers, too fierce to be controlled, were quieted for the present. Rome, however, was not in a state of tranquillity. A constant din of arms was heard, and warlike preparations were seen in every quarter. The soldiers did not, as before, riot in tumultuous bodies; but, being dispersed throughout the city, they found means, in various shapes, to insinuate themselves into houses, where they watched, with sufficient malignity, the motions and words of all, who by their nobility, their wealth, or their talents, were eminent enough to be objects of calumny. A report prevailed at the same time, that Vitellius had a number of emissaries dispersed among the populace, to act as spies, and watch the state of parties. Hence jealousy, mistrust and fear. No man thought himself safe under his own roof. Abroad and under the eye of the public the alarm was still greater. Whatever was the rumour of the day, all degrees and ranks were obliged to set their faces for the occasion: if bad, they were afraid of seeming to despond; and, if propitious, unwilling to be thought backward in demonstrations of joy. With events of either kind, their features were taught to comply.

The fathers had the hardest task. Silence in the senate might be though sullen discontent, and liberty of speech might be deemed a crime. Adulation itself was at a stand. Who could deceive a prince, who was but lately a private man, and, in

that station, practised flattery till he became a perfect master of that insidious art? The fathers were driven to little stratagems; they tortured every sentence into a thousand forms, and, to diversify one and the same thought, all the colours of rhetoric were exhausted. All agreed to call Vitellius A PUBLIC ENEMY AND A PARRICIDE. This was the burthen of every speech. Cautious men, who looked forward to their own security, avoided entering into particulars, content with hackneyed declamation: others, without reserve or management, poured out a torrent of virulent invective, but generally chose to rise in the midst of noise and clamour, when nothing could be distinctly heard, and the speaker could mouth and bellow, without the danger of being understood or remembered.

LXXXVI. A number of prodigies, announced from different quarters, diffused a general panic. The goddess of victory, in the vestibule of the capitol, let the reins of two horses, harnessed to her chariot, fall from her hand. A form of more than human size was seen to issue from the chapel of Juno. In an island in the Tiber (*a*), the statue of Julius Cæsar, without any apparent cause, on a day perfectly serene and calm, turned round from the west to the east. In Etruria an ox was said to have spoken: animals brought forth monstrous births: and to these was added a variety of preternatural appearances, such as in rude and barbarous ages were the coinage of superstition; and, even in profound peace, made an impression on vulgar credulity, though of late years they have so far lost their

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effect, that, unless it be a time of public distress, they pass away unheeded and forgotten. Amidst the omens, which seemed to threaten impending danger, an inundation of the Tiber was the most alarming. The waters swelled above their banks, and overflowed the adjacent country. The Sublician bridge was carried away by the floods and the ruins, that fell in, obstructing the course of the river, the torrent was driven back with such impetuous violence, that not only the level parts of the city, but even the higher grounds, were covered with a general deluge (*b*). The people in the streets were swallowed up, and numbers were drowned in their shops, and in their beds. The corn in the public granaries was destroyed; a famine ensued, and the common people were reduced to the last distress. The waters, that lay for some time in the streets of Rome, sapped the foundation of several insulated houses; and when the flood fell back into its channel, the superstructure tumbled to the ground. This disaster was no sooner over, than a new occurrence spread a general terror. Otho was preparing to set out on his expedition. His way was over the field of Mars, and the Flaminian road; but both places were impassable. This circumstance, though accidental, or the effect of natural causes, was magnified into a prodigy, by which the gods denounced the slaughter of armies and a train of public calamities.

LXXXVII. The emperor ordered a lustration (*a*), and, having purified the city, turned his thoughts to the conduct of the war. The Penine and the

Cottian Alps, with all the passes into Italy, were in the possession of Vitellius and his armies. Otho resolved, therefore, to make a descent on the coast of Narbon Gaul, with a fleet well manned, and in force to keep the command of those seas. All who survived the massacre at the Milvian bridge, and had been, by Galba's orders, thrown into prison, were released by Otho, and incorporated with the legions. He depended on the fidelity of those men, and, by giving to others the like hopes of preferment, he inspired the whole body with zeal and ardour. In order to strengthen his fleet, he embarked the city cohorts, and a considerable detachment from the prætorian guards; a body of men capable of defending their generals by their courage, and of assisting with their advice. The conduct of the marine was committed to three officers; namely, Antonius Novellus and Suedius Clemens, both centurions of principal rank, and Æmilius Pacensis, a tribune degraded by Galba, but, since the death of that emperor, restored to his rank. A freedman of the name of Oscus was appointed to direct the operations of the fleet, and act as a spy on better men than himself. The land forces, both horse and infantry, were put under the command of Suetonius Paulinus, Marius Celsus, and Annius Gallus. To them was added Licinius Proculus, the præfect of the prætorians, and in him Otho reposed his whole confidence. This officer, in time of peace, discharged the functions of his station with sufficient ability; but he had seen no service, and had therefore no skill in military affairs. He had talents for mischief,

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and knew how to obstruct the authority of Paulinus, to check the ardour of Celsus, and to thwart the judgment of Gallus. An enemy to every excellence of those three officers, he found, as usually happens, that worth and modest merit were no match for malice and left-handed policy.

LXXXVIII. Before Otho set out from Rome, Cornelius Dolabella was, by his order, conveyed under a guard to the Aquinian colony (*a*), there to be kept out of the way, but not in close confinement. His only crime was the antiquity of his family, and his affinity to Galba. Several magistrates, and others of consular rank, had it in command to attend Otho on his expedition, not to assist in the war by their counsels or their valour, but to swell the pomp of the emperor's retinue. In the number was Lucius Vitellius, who was suffered to mix with the rest of the train, undistinguished either as the brother of one emperor, or the enemy of another. During these preparations, Rome presented a scene of hurry and confusion. No order of men was exempt from fear or danger. The principal senators, enfeebled by age, or softened by a long peace; the nobility, sunk in sloth; and the Roman knights, who had lost their warlike spirit, were all obliged to put themselves in readiness. They assumed an air of courage, but their fears were seen through the vain disguise. Some affected to make a display of their alacrity. They bought with vain ostentation the most splendid armour, horses for parade, and all the conveniencies of a luxurious table, as if such implements were a necessary part

of their camp-equipage. The wise and moderate thought of nothing but their own safety and the public welfare; while the vain and senseless, whose views did not extend to remote consequences, filled their minds with chimerical expectations; and all who were bankrupts both in fame and fortune, hoped to find in the distractions of their country that security, which, in quiet times, they had never known.

LXXXIX. The people at large, unacquainted with the secrets of state, and of course free from solicitude, began, however, to feel the ill effects of the impending war. They saw the public revenue exhausted in the service of the army; they laboured under a scarcity of provisions, and the price was rising every day; whereas, in the troubles stirred up by Vindex, none of those inconveniences affected the city of Rome. That commotion was at a distance, a war in the remote parts of Gaul, decided between the legions and the provincial insurgents. The Roman citizens looked on in perfect tranquillity, as if it were no more than a foreign quarrel. From the reign of Augustus, when that emperor established the power of the Cæsars, this had constantly been the case. The issue of every war affected the sovereign only. Under Tiberius and Caligula, the evils of peace were the worst calamities. The attempt of Scribonianus (*a*) to shake the authority of Claudius was crushed as soon as discovered. Nero was undone by rumours and vague intelligence, not by force of arms. In the present

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juncture, the face of things was changed. The pressure was felt at home. The fleets and legions were in motion, and, beyond all example, the prætorian bands and city cohorts were obliged to take the field. The east and west were engaged in the contest; the several provinces, which the leading chiefs left behind them, were up in arms; and, under better generals, there were ample materials for a long and difficult war. Otho was now on the point of beginning his march. A scruple was started to deter him from proceeding, till the ceremony of depositing the sacred shields called the ANCILIA (*b*) was performed with due rites and ceremonies. He rejected the advice. Delay had been the ruin of Nero, and Cæcina by this time had passed the Alps. The time called for vigour and expedition.

XC. On the day preceding the ides of March, Otho called a meeting of the senate. He recommended the care of the commonwealth to the wisdom of that assembly, and ordered the property of such as had been recalled from banishment, since the death of Nero, to be restored to the respective owners. To this liberality nothing could be objected: it was an act of justice, in appearance magnificent, but of little use, as the public officers had already seized the whole into their own hands. From the senate Otho proceeded to harangue the people: he talked in a pompous style of the fathers, and the majesty of the Roman citizens. He mentioned the adverse party in managed terms, imputing to the legions error in judgment rather than a turbulent and factious spirit. Of Vitellius he made no

mention; perhaps from motives of delicacy, or, more probably, because the writer of the speech, looking forward to his own safety, thought it prudent to exclude all personal invective. For the last opinion there seems to be some foundation. In all military operations, Suetonius Paulinus and Marius Celsus were Otho's confidential advisers; but in matters that concerned the civil administration, Galerius Trachalus (*a*) was the person on whose talents he relied. That minister had gained reputation at the bar; and those who were best acquainted with his mode of eloquence, and the harmony of his copious periods, discovered, in the composition of the speech, the style and manner of that celebrated orator. Otho was received with acclamations: the populace, according to custom, yielded to the impulse of the moment, full of sound and servile adulation, but nothing from the heart. You would have thought that it was Cæsar the dictator, or Augustus the emperor, for whom they contended with so much emulation. And yet, in all this show of zeal, there was at the bottom neither love nor fear; servility was the motive; all courted the yoke, and all rushed headlong into slavery. The public, at this time, presented no better spectacle than what is seen every day in a family of domestic slaves: each individual had his own private views; and for the public interest, or the honour of the state, no care remained. Otho was now ready to depart: he left the government of Rome, and the whole weight of empire, to his brother Salvius Titianus (*b*), and proceeded on his expedition.

END OF BOOK I.

THE

HISTORY

OF

TACITUS.

BOOK II.

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BOOK II.

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These transactions passed in a few months after the death of Galba, and Vinius his colleague in the consulship.

Year of Rome,	Of Christ,	Consuls.
822	69	M. Salvius Otho, Salvius Otho Titianus.
		L. Verginius Rufus, Pompeius Vopiscus.
		Cælius Sabinus, T. Flavius Sabinus.
		T. Arrius Antoninus, P. Marius Celsus.

THE

HISTORY

OF

TACITUS.

BOOK II.

BOOK II. A. U. C. 822. A. D. 69.

I. FORTUNE was already preparing, in another quarter of the world, to open an important scene, and to produce to mankind a new imperial family, destined, at first (*a*), to flourish in prosperity, and, in the end, after a disastrous reign, to fall by a dreadful catastrophe. While Galba still possessed the sovereign power, Titus, by order of Vespasian, his father, set out from Judæa, with congratulations to that emperor, and, as was natural, with the ambition of a young man eager to begin the career (*b*) of public honours. The common people, according to their custom, found deeper reasons for the journey. Titus, they believed, was to be adopted heir to the empire, and what they believed they took care to circulate. The advanced age of Galba, and his want of issue, gave colour to the story; and the busy spirit of the populace relied on vain conjec-

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ture, impatient to decide what still remained in suspense. The character and personal accomplishments of Titus added weight to the report. He had talents for the highest station, and to the dignity of his stature united a graceful mien and amiable countenance. The success, that attended the exploits of the father, threw a lustre round the son: oracular responses (*c*) foretold the grandeur of the family; and, while the minds of men stood ready for the reception of every rumour, even trifling incidents, the mere result of chance, confirmed the popular opinion. At Corinth in Achaia, Titus received intelligence of the death of Galba, and, at the same time, undoubted assurances, that Vitellius, at the head of powerful armies, was in motion to claim the empire. In this posture of affairs, he called a council of select friends. The conjuncture was alarming, and to choose among difficulties was all that was left. "If he proceeded on his way to "Rome, the homage intended for a prince now no "more, would have no merit with his successor; "and to remain a hostage in the custody of Otho, "or Vitellius, would, most probably, be his lot. On "the other hand, if he returned to Judæa, that cold "indifference would give umbrage to the conqueror; "and yet, while the issue of the war was still uncer-"tain, the conduct of a young man would admit of "alleviating circumstances in the opinion of the "prince whom Vespasian should think proper to "join. Above all, it was possible that Vespasian "might declare himself a candidate: in that case, "petty offences would be of little consequence, "when all were to be involved in a general war."

II. After balancing the motives on every side, and fluctuating for some time between opposite passions, hope, at length, prevailed, and Titus returned to Judæa. A change so sudden was by some imputed to his love of queen Berenice (*a*). It is true, that princess had engaged his affections; but the business of his heart never interfered with the duties of his station. Youth being the season of pleasure, Titus gave a loose to those desires, which he afterwards so well knew how to regulate. In his own reign he was remarkable for that self-control, which he never practised under his father. He set sail from Corinth, and after steering along the coast of Achaia and Asia, which lay to the left, he directed his course towards Rhodes and Cyprus. From those islands he went, by a more bold navigation (*b*), across the open sea to the coast of Syria. At Cyprus curiosity led him to visit the temple of the Paphian Venus, famous for the worship paid by the inhabitants, and the conflux of strangers who resorted thither from all parts. If we take this opportunity to trace the origin of that singular worship (*c*), and to describe the situation of the temple, and the form of the goddess, differing entirely from what is seen in any other place, the digression will, perhaps, be neither tedious, nor unacceptable to the reader.

III. The founder of the temple, if we believe ancient tradition, was king Aerias; a name ascribed by some writers (*a*) to the goddess herself. According to a more recent opinion, the temple was built

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and dedicated by king Cinyras (*b*), on the spot where the goddess, after emerging from her native waves, was gently wafted to the shore. The science of divination, we are told, was of foreign growth, imported by Thamiras (*c*), the Cilician, and by him established with mysterious rites and ceremonies. In consequence of this institution, it was settled, by mutual compact, between the priest and Cinyras, the king of the island, that the sacerdotal function should be hereditary in the descendants of their respective families. In process of time, the race of Thamiras, willing that the sovereign should be distinguished by a superior prerogative, resigned into the hands of Cinyras the whole conduct of the mysteries, of which their ancestors were the original founders. A priest of the royal line is, at present, the only person consulted. For victims, to be offered as a sacrifice, animals of every species are allowed, at the option of the votarist, provided he chooses from the male kind only. Discoveries made in the fibres of kids are deemed the best prognostics. The altar is never stained with blood, and, though exposed to the open air, never moistened (*d*) by a drop of rain. Supplications and the pure flame of fire are the only offerings. The statue of the goddess bears no resemblance to the human form. You see a round figure, broad at the base, but growing fine by degrees, till, like a cone, it lessens to a point. The reason (*e*), whatever it be, is not explained.

IV. Titus viewed the wealth of the temple, the presents of eastern kings, and the collection of rarities,

which the genius of the Greeks, fond of tradition and the decorations of fabulous narrative, affected to trace from remote antiquity. He then consulted the oracle about his future voyage. A calm sea and a safe passage were promised. He slew a number of victims, and, in terms properly guarded, attempted to pry into his own destiny. The priest, whose name was Sostratus, explored the entrails of various animals, and, finding that the goddess was propitious, answered, for the present, in the usual style, but afterwards, at a secret interview, laid open a scene of glory. Titus, with a mind enlarged, and swelling with vast ideas, proceeded on his voyage, and joined his father. The armies and provinces of the East were at that time wavering; but the presence of Titus inspired them with vigour and alacrity. Vespasian had almost brought the Jewish war to a conclusion. Nothing remained but the siege of Jerusalem (*a*); an arduous enterprise, which threatened great toil and difficulty, not on account of the strength or resources of the enemy, but by reason of a hill almost inaccessible, and, what was still more hard to conquer, the stubborn genius of superstition. Vespasian, as already mentioned, had three legions under his command, all inured to the service, and eager against the enemy. Mucianus, in a province where profound tranquillity was established, was at the head of four legions, not, as usual in time of peace, relaxed in indolence, but animated by the gallant exertions of the army under Vespasian, and fired with a spirit of emulation. Having no enemy to oppose, they were not made soldiers in

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the field; but their spirit was roused, and, being unimpaired by fatigue, they were ready for a vigorous campaign. The two commanders had an additional force of auxiliary horse and foot, besides a naval armament on the coast, and the support of all the neighbouring kings. Add to this, their own military character was a tower of strength. Both stood high in reputation, but for different reasons, and for qualities peculiar to each.

V. Vespasian possessed all the requisites that form a soldier and an officer. Prompt and zealous in the service, he was often seen at the head of a march; he went in person to mark out the ground of his camp, and, by night as well as day, he kept the enemy in a constant alarm, planning his measures with judgment, and executing with vigour. To his diet he paid no regard, content with whatever came before him. In his apparel, plain and simple, he was scarce distinguished from the common men. With all this he had a leaven of avarice. Forgive that vice, and he was equal to the best generals of antiquity.

Mucianus was of a different cast. Rich and magnificent, he appeared with an air of elevation above the rank of a private citizen. An able orator, and versed in civil business, he laid his schemes with judgment: the politician appeared in all his measures. In the two men were seen a rare assemblage of extraordinary qualities. By weeding out the vices of each, and uniting their virtues, the commonwealth would have had an accomplished prince. Situated

as they were in contiguous provinces, Vespasian in Judæa, and Mucianus in Syria, they beheld each other, for some time, with the jealousy of rivals. The death of Nero put an end to their dissentions. From that time they began to act in concert. Their mutual friends made the first advances towards a reconciliation, and, by the address of Titus, a mere cessation of animosities was turned into a lasting peace. The power of winning the affections of men was in an eminent degree the talent of that young officer. Nature and art conspired to render him acceptable to all; and even Mucianus could not resist his influence. The tribunes, the centurions, and the common men were, by various artifices, fixed in the interest of the two commanders. The diligent met with encouragement, the licentious with indulgence, and, according to the bent of each man's disposition, all were secured by their virtues or their vices.

VI. Before the arrival of Titus, both armies had sworn fidelity to Otho, with the precipitation of men who had quick intelligence of all that passed at Rome. They were not, in that juncture, ripe for a revolt. Preparations for a civil war are in their nature slow and difficult. The East had been composed by a long peace, and now, for the first time, began to think of mixing in the feuds that shook the empire. They had hitherto seen the convulsions of the state at a distance only. The quarrel always broke out in Gaul or Italy, and was there decided by the forces of the West. It is true, that Pompey,

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Cassius, Brutus and Anthony, carried the war across the Mediterranean, and had reason to repent. Syria and Judæa heard of the Cæsars, but seldom saw them. The legions, undisturbed by sedition, had no war upon their hands. Embroiled at different times with the Parthians (*a*), they had a few slight conflicts, with doubtful success, and passed the rest of the year in profound tranquillity. In the late civil war (*b*), when every part of the empire was in motion, the East was perfectly quiet. Galba obtained the sovereignty, and the oriental legions acquiesced; but it was no sooner known that Otho and Vitellius were engaged in an impious war against their country, than they began to shake off their pacific temper. They saw the supreme authority in the hands of other armies, who granted it away at their own pleasure, and reaped the profits of every revolution, while the soldiers of the East had nothing but a change of servitude, condemned, at the will of others, to submit to new masters.

Discontent and loud complaints were heard throughout the army. The common men began to survey their strength and numbers. They reckoned seven legions (*c*), besides a large body of auxiliaries. Syria and Judæa were in their possession. Ægypt had two legions at their service. Cappadocia and Pontus afforded ample resources; and the forces that lined the frontier of Armenia stood ready at their beck. Asia, and the rest of the provinces, were provided with men and money. In a word, the islands, and the sea that surrounds them, were under their command; and the Mediterranean,

while it separated them from the rest of the empire, left them at leisure to prepare for war.

VII. The zeal of the soldiers was no secret to the commanders in chief; but they judged it best to wait the issue of the war in Europe; aware that, between the victor and the vanquished, a sincere coalition never can succeed, and whether fortune favoured the arms of Otho or Vitellius, the consequence in either event would be the same. And if the pride of victory is apt to corrupt the ablest generals, from the present chiefs what was to be expected? Their own vices would destroy them. Discord, sloth, and luxury would be the ruin of both: one would be undone by the fate of war, and the other by success. For these reasons it was agreed to suspend all military operations. Vespasian and Mucianus, lately reconciled to each other, concurred in this opinion, which had been beforehand adopted by their friends. Men of principle gave their advice with a view to the public good; others looked for their own private advantage; and public confusion was the only resource of such as, in their domestic affairs, saw nothing but distress and ruin. One mind, one spirit pervaded the whole army. Good and evil motives conspired, and, for different reasons, war became the passion of all.

VIII. About this period of time, a report that Nero was still alive, and actually on his way to the provinces of the East, excited a general alarm through Achaia and Asia. The accounts of that

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emperor's death (*a*) had been so various, that conjecture had ample materials. Hence numbers asserted that Nero survived the fury of his enemies, and they found credulity ready to believe them. In the course of this work the reader will hear of various pretenders, and the fate that attended them. The impostor who now took upon him to personate that emperor, was a slave from Pontus, or, according to some writers, a freedman from Italy, who played with skill on the harp, and had a musical voice. With those talents, and a countenance that resembled Nero, he was able to impose on vulgar minds. By the force of promises he drew to his party a number of deserters, whom their poverty induced to lead a vagrant life. With this crew he put to sea, but was thrown by adverse winds on the isle of Cythnus. At that place he fell in with a party of soldiers on their return from the East. Some of these he listed; and such as refused, he ordered to be put to death. Having plundered the merchants, and armed the stoutest of their slaves, he endeavoured to seduce Sisenna, a centurion from Syria, who happened to land on the island of Cythnus, on his way to greet the prætorian bands in the name of the Syrian army, and, in token of friendship, to present two right hands clasping each other. Apprehending danger from so bold an adventurer, Sisenna made his escape from the island. A general panic seized the inhabitants. Numbers rejoiced to find the name of Nero once more revived, and, hating the new system, wished for nothing so much as another revolution.

IX. The fame of this pretended Nero gained credit every day, when by a sudden accident the illusion vanished. It happened that Calpurnius Asprenas, whom Galba had appointed governor of Galatia and Pamphylia, arrived, on his way to those provinces, at the isle of Cythnus, with two galleys from the fleet that lay at Misenum. The commanders of the ships were summoned, in the name of Nero, to attend their lawful prince. The impostor continued to act his part. He received the naval officers with an air of dejection, and, by the duty which they owed him, implored their assistance, and safe conduct either to Syria, or to Ægypt. The masters of the galleys, alarmed at the proposal, or intending to deceive, desired time to prepare the minds of their sailors, faithfully promising to return without delay. Asprenas, duly informed of all that passed, gave orders to attack the impostor and his crew of adherents. The ship was seized, and the pretended emperor, whoever he was, suffered death. The air of the man, his eyes, his hair, and the ferocity of his countenance (*a*), bore a strong resemblance to Nero. His body was conveyed to Asia, and afterwards sent to Rome.

X. In a city, distracted by internal discord, and, after so many revolutions, fierce with a spirit of liberty that led to the wildest anarchy, no transaction, however trifling in itself, could pass, without exciting violent commotions. Vibius Crispus, a man, for his wealth, his power, and his talents, always ranked among the most eminent citizens,

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but never for his virtues numbered with the good, cited to the bar of the senate, Annius Faustus, a Roman knight, and in the reign of Nero an informer by profession. In the beginning of Galba's reign, it was ordained by a decree, that all causes against the race of public accusers should be fairly heard. This law, however salutary, was forced to yield to the temper of the times; it was enforced, or relaxed, as the person accused happened to be of weight and consequence, or poor and friendless: it was, notwithstanding, still in force; and Crispus, availing himself of it, exerted all his influence to ruin the man who had been the prosecutor of his brother (*a*). In the senate his party was strong and powerful. Without hearing the criminal, the fathers were for condemning him to immediate execution. The violence of this proceeding stirred up an opposition. A party was formed against the overgrown power of the prosecutor. They insisted that the specific charge should be exhibited, and a day fixed, when the delinquent, however guilty, should be allowed the common right of being heard in his defence. This motion was carried, and the hearing of the cause was adjourned for a few days. The trial, at length, came on, and Faustus was condemned, but not with that universal assent of the people which a life of iniquity might have warranted. The accuser, it was well known, had been concerned in the conduct of prosecutions, and received the profits of his trade. Men rejoiced to see the punishment of a crime so dangerous and detestable; but the triumph of a notorious offender gave disgust.

XI. Meanwhile, the affairs of Otho wore a favourable aspect. The armies in Dalmatia and Pannonia were on their march to join him. A detachment of two thousand advanced by rapid marches, while the main body followed at moderate distances. The legions that composed this force, were the seventh, which had been raised by Galba; the eleventh, the thirteenth, and fourteenth, all veterans in the service, and the last in great renown for the vigour with which they quelled the insurrection in Britain (*a*), and still more famous for the choice made by Nero, who had selected that corps as the best in the empire. They remained, to the last, faithful to that emperor, and, after his death, declared with equal zeal in favour of Otho. Knowing their own strength, they were inspired with confidence, but a confidence that made them judge for themselves, and proceed on their march by slow journeys, as their humour prompted. The cavalry and auxiliary cohorts came forward with more alacrity.

The troops that marched from Rome were a formidable body. They consisted of five prætorian cohorts, several squadrons of horse, and the first legion. To these were added two thousand gladiators; a resource altogether ignoble, but in civil commotions often employed by generals of the first reputation. Annius Gallus and Vestricius Spurinna (*b*) were sent at the head of this whole force, with orders to take post on the banks of the Po. The first intention was to keep the enemy locked up in Gaul; but that project proved abortive, Cæcina having already passed the Alps. Otho followed with

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a select body of the prætorian guards, and all the veterans of that corps, with the city cohorts, and a prodigious number draughted from the marines. On the march he betrayed no symptom of sloth (*c*), no passion for luxury: he advanced on foot, at the head of the colours, covered with an iron breast-plate, rough and soldier-like, exhibiting a striking contrast to his former character.

XII. In this posture of affairs, fortune seemed to open a flattering prospect. Otho was master of the greatest part of Italy, and his fleets had the command of the sea. To the foot of the maritime Alps (*a*) the country was in his possession. To pass over those mountains, and make a descent on Narbon Gaul, was the measure which he had projected. To conduct that expedition he appointed Suedius Clemens, Antonius Novellus, and Æmilius Pacencis. The last was loaded with irons by his own soldiers. Antonius Novellus lost all authority; and Suedius Clemens, proud of his rank, but not knowing how to maintain it, yielded too much to the humours of the men. He preserved no discipline, and yet was eager for action. His army presented no appearance of men marching through their own country. They forgot that Italy was their native soil, and that the lands and houses belonged to their fellow citizens. Regardless of the Roman name, they laid waste the country with fire and sword; they pillaged, destroyed, and plundered, as if the war had been in a foreign realm, against the enemies of their country. The wretched inhabitants were oppressed by men,

against whom, having entertained no fear, they had prepared no defence. The fields were covered with grain and cattle; the houses were open; and the owners, with their wives and children, went forth, in the simplicity of their hearts, to meet the army. In the midst of peace, they were surrounded with all the horrors of war. Marius Maturus was, at that time, governor of the maritime Alps. He resolved to dispute the passage with Otho's troops, and for that purpose armed the youth of the country. In the first encounter, the mountaineers were either cut to pieces or put to the rout. A band of rustics, suddenly levied, and ignorant of military discipline, could not make head against a regular army. Expecting no fame from victory, they feared no disgrace from an ignominious flight.

XIII. An opposition so rash and feeble served only to exasperate the Othonian soldiers. They fell with fury upon Albium Intemelium, a municipal town. The late victory was a fruitless advantage, affording neither spoil nor plunder. The peasants had no property, and their arms were of no value. Even prisoners of war could not be made. The fugitives knew the course of the country, and were too swift of foot. Enraged at the disappointment, the soldiers wreaked their vengeance on the innocent inhabitants of Intemelium, and glutted their avarice with the effects of innocent men. Amidst the barbarities committed on this occasion, a Ligurian woman gave a noble example of courage and maternal affection. She had concealed her child

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from the fury of the slaughtering sword. The soldiers, fully persuaded that she had deposited her treasure in the same place, stretched her on the rack, and pressed the unhappy mother to tell where she had secured her son. She laid her hand on her womb, and "Here," she said, "here my child is "sheltered." From that moment, unmoved by menaces, and unsubdued by torture, she never changed her tone. Nothing could conquer that generous obstinacy. She died a bright example of undaunted virtue.

XIV. Meanwhile, Fabius Valens received intelligence that Otho's fleet was hovering on the coast of Narbon Gaul, with intent to invade that province, which had already embraced the interest of Vitellius. The adjacent colonies, by their deputies, sued for protection. Valens dispatched two Tungrian cohorts, four squadrons of horse, with the whole cavalry of the Treviri, under the command of Julius Classicus; reserving, however, a sufficient detachment from those forces, to garrison the port of Forojulium, that the colony might not, while the troops marched up the country, lie exposed to sudden incursions from the fleet. This arrangement being made, Classicus marched in quest of the enemy, at the head of twelve troops of horse, and a select body from the cohorts. To these were added the Ligurian cohort, which had been usually quartered at Forojulium, and five hundred men from Pannonia, not yet ranged in companies under distinct and regular colours. Neither side declined an

engagement. The disposition made by Otho's officers was as follows: A body of marines, intermixed with the peasantry, took post on the heights near the sea. The level space between the hills and the coast was occupied by the prætorian soldiers; and, to support them, the fleet stood in close to the shore, drawn up in order of battle, and presenting a formidable line. The strength of the Vitellians, consisting in cavalry, was stationed in front; the infantry close embodied in their rear, and their Alpine mountaineers on the ridge of the neighbouring hills. The Treverian squadrons began the attack with less skill than courage. The veterans of Otho's army received the attack in front, while their peasants, from the high grounds, discharged a volley of stones, and, being expert slingers, annoyed the enemy in flank. They mixed in the lines with the regular soldiers, and performed feats of valour. In the moment of victory, there was no distinction between the coward and the brave; all pursued their advantage with equal ardour. The Vitellians were thrown into disorder; and, being driven towards the margin of the sea, they were there attacked in the rear by the soldiers belonging to the fleet. This was a danger unforeseen. Hemmed in on every side, they must have been to a man cut off, if the night had not come on in time to favour their retreat, and restrain the victorious army from pursuing them in their flight.

XV. The Vitellians, though defeated, still retained their warlike spirit. With a reinforcement

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drawn together in haste, they returned to the charge; and, finding the enemy elate with joy, and by success lulled into security, they assaulted the outposts, put the advanced guard to the sword, and forced their way into the camp. The Othonians were struck with terror, and near the fleet all was tumult and disorder. The surprise, however, soon began to subside. The Othonians betook themselves to an adjacent hill, and, having there collected their strength, rushed down with impetuous fury. A dreadful slaughter followed. The Tungrian cohorts stood the brunt of the action, till their commanding officers fell under a shower of darts. The Othonians conquered, but their victory was dearly bought. They pursued the flying enemy with more rage than prudence, when the Treverian cavalry wheeling round, attacked them in the rear, and put a large party to the sword. From this time the two armies remained inactive. As if a truce had taken place, and both sides had agreed by compact to suspend hostilities, and no more molest each other by sudden incursions, the Vitellians retired to Antipolis, a municipal town of Narbon Gaul, and the Othonians to Albingaunum, in the inland part of Liguria.

XVI. Corsica, Sardinia, and the rest of the islands in those seas, were overawed by the victorious fleet, and kept in subjection to Otho. Corsica, indeed, suffered a sudden convulsion from the temerity of the governor. The name of this officer was Decimus Pacarius. Though the island, in a

war carried on by such powerful adversaries, was of no importance, he endeavoured to seduce the inhabitants to the interest of Vitellius. The project, which would have decided nothing, ended in his own ruin. He summoned a council of the leading men, and communicated his design. Claudius Phirricus, who commanded the galleys on that station, and Quinctius Certus, a Roman knight, objected to the measure, and were put to instant death. The rest of the assembly, terrified by this act of violence, swore fidelity to Vitellius. The populace, as usual, blind and ignorant, but by contagion catching the fears of others, followed the example of the leading chiefs. Pacarius began to muster his men, and train them to the use of arms. A race of rude and vulgar peasants, who had no relish for the fatigue of military discipline, began to consider the nature of their situation, and their inability to support a war. "They were islanders remote from Germany, and "out of the reach of the legions. The fleets of Otho "commanded the seas, and had lately ravaged the "maritime countries, though defended by the co-"horts and cavalry of Vitellius." This reflection produced a sudden change in every mind. They resolved to assert their independence, not with open force, but by covert stratagem; and, for that purpose, to lie in wait for their opportunity. Pacarius, as soon as his train of visitors left him, retired to his bath. In that moment the conspirators fell upon him naked and disarmed. He was put to instant death, and his attendants suffered the same fate. Their heads, like those of traitors, were conveyed

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to Otho. And yet the assassins were neither rewarded by that prince, nor punished by Vitellius. In the mass of atrocious deeds that disgraced the times, petty villanies were suffered to pass with impunity.

XVII. The cavalry, called the SYLLANIAN SQUADRON, had, as already mentioned (*a*), forced their way into Italy, and there fixed the seat of war. In the conduct of these men nothing proceeded from principle. They had no regard for Otho, nor so much as a wish to serve Vitellius; but, their vigour being relaxed by a long peace, and their minds debased and prepared for slavery, they stood ready to stretch their necks to the yoke, whatever hand imposed it, in their choice of a master wholly indifferent. The fairest portion of Italy (*b*), extending from the Po to the Alps, with all its fertile plains and flourishing cities, was in the possession of Vitellius; the forces sent forward by Cæcina having already penetrated into that quarter. At Cremona a Pannonian cohort laid down their arms; and between Placentia and Ticinum a party of a hundred horse, with a thousand marines, were made prisoners. In this tide of success nothing could withstand the vigour of the Vitellians. The Po opposed its stream and its banks in vain. To the Batavians, and the troops from beyond the Rhine, the river was no more than a new motive to inflame their ardour. They passed over with their usual rapidity under the walls of Placentia, and in sight of the enemy. Having gained a footing on the land, they inter-

cepted the enemy's scouts, and spread such a general panic, that all who escaped their fury fled with precipitation, announcing the arrival of Cæcina and his whole army.

XVIII. Spurinna, who commanded at Placentia, was well informed of Cæcina's motions. He knew him to be still at a distance; and, if at any time he should show himself before the place, he had taken his measures. Three prætorian cohorts, and no more than a thousand vexillaries, with a small body of horse, would be ill opposed to a veteran army. He resolved, therefore, to remain within his fortifications. But an unruly soldiery, fierce and unskilled in military operations, was not to be restrained. They seized the colours, and sallied forth in a body. The general endeavoured in vain to check their violence; the men pointed their weapons at his breast; they spurned at the tribunes and centurions, who extolled the wisdom of their superior officer; they rejected all advice, declaring aloud that treason was at work; they were betrayed: and Cæcina was invited to take possession of the place. Spurinna was obliged to yield to this sudden phrensy, and even to proceed on the march. He went forth against his will, but with a show of approbation, in hopes, if the sedition died away, that he might then resume his former authority.

XIX. The soldiers pushed on with spirit, till the Po appearing in sight, and night coming on, they halted for the first time. It was now judged neces-

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sary to fortify a camp. Labour and castrametation were new to men who had only served within the walls of Rome. Their ferocity abated, and they began to see their error. The veterans in the service condemned their own credulity, and pointed out to their comrades the common danger of all, if Cæcina with a numerous army had come up in time to surround them in a wide champaign country. Throughout the ranks nothing was heard but penitence and submission. The tribunes and centurions regained their influence, and all were loud in praise of their general, who had, with judgment, chosen a strong and powerful colony for the seat of war. Spurinna seized his opportunity, choosing rather to convince by reason, than to irritate by reproof. Having quelled the sedition, he left some flying parties to watch the motions of the enemy, and, with an army now disposed to obey his orders, marched back to Placentia. The fortifications of the place were repaired; new works were added; towers were constructed; the soldiers were provided with arms; and, what was of greater moment, a spirit of discipline and prompt obedience was diffused through the army. This was, no doubt, an essential service. Want of courage could not be imputed to Otho's party. Inattention to their superior officers was the disadvantage under which they laboured.

XX. Cæcina advanced into Italy with a well-conducted army, observing in his march the strictest discipline, as if on the other side of the Alps he had left his cruelty and love of plunder. His dress

gave offence to the colonies through which he passed. His mantle, decorated with various colours, passed for a mark of arrogance; and his drawers (*a*), used only by savage nations, did not agree with the ideas of a Roman citizen. Besides this, the splendid appearance of his wife, Salonina, mounted on a superb horse, adorned with purple ornaments, though in itself a matter of no importance, and certainly injurious to no person whatever, was held to be a public insult. Such is the nature of the human mind, disposed at all times to behold with jealousy the sudden elevation of new men, and to demand, that he, who has been known in a humble station, should know how to rise in the world with temper and modest dignity. Cæcina passed the Po, and by negotiation and artful promises endeavoured to seduce the leaders of Otho's party. The like insidious game was played against himself. Both sides talked of peace and concord, but they amused each other with words of specious sound, importing nothing. Tired of fruitless artifices, Cæcina began to concert his measures for the reduction of Placentia. He determined to invest the place; and knowing how much the fame of the general, and, by consequence, the events of war, depend on the first exploit, he made every preparation for carrying on the siege with vigour.

XXI. The first approach to the town displayed the bravery, but nothing of the skill, which might be expected from a veteran army. The soldiers, intoxicated with liquor, advanced to the foot of the

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walls, without shelter, or due precaution. In this attack, a magnificent amphitheatre, which stood on the outside of the fortifications, was set on fire, and levelled to the ground. Whether this was occasioned by the flaming brands and other combustibles thrown in by the besiegers, or by the like missive weapons discharged from the works, cannot now be ascertained. The vulgar herd of the city, apt and willing, like the populace in every quarter, to believe whatever malignity can invent, imputed the disaster to the neighbouring colonists, who saw with envy a spacious and magnificent structure, that surpassed every monument of art and labour throughout Italy. The sense of this misfortune, however begun, was lost in the pressure of immediate danger; but the enemy was no sooner withdrawn from the walls, than the inhabitants, in the moment of security, lamented the loss of their amphitheatre, as the worst calamity that could befal them. Cæcina was repulsed with considerable loss. The night, on both sides, was employed in necessary preparations. The Vitellians provided themselves with moving penthouses, and other warlike machines, under which the men might advance to sap the foundation of the walls. The besieged were busy in preparing stakes and rafts of timber, with huge heaps of stone and lead and brass, in order to crush the assailants under their own works. Both armies felt every motive that could rouse their valour. The love of glory, and the fear of shame, throbbed in every breast. In the camp of the Vitellians, nothing was heard but the vigour of the le-

gions, and the fame of the German armies; within the town, the honour of the city cohorts, and the dignity of the prætorian bands, were the topics that inflamed their minds with heroic ardour. They considered the Vitellians as a set of desperate adventurers, and despised them as barbarians, foreigners, and aliens in Italy; while, in their turn, they were held in contempt by the besiegers, as a weak enervate band, who had lost every warlike principle in the circus and the theatres of Rome. Otho and Vitellius were the subject of alternate praise and calumny; but praise was soon exhausted, and for abuse each party found abundant materials.

XXII. At the return of day, the city and the country round displayed a scene of warlike preparation: the walls and ramparts were covered with Othonian soldiers, and the fields glittered with the blaze of hostile arms. The legions in close array advanced to the assault, and the auxiliaries in separate divisions. The attack began with a volley of stones and darts aimed at the highest part of the fortifications; and where the works were either impaired by time, or thinly manned, the Vitellians attempted a scalade. The German auxiliaries, rending the air with their savage war-songs, and, according to the custom of their country, waving their shields over their shoulders, advanced with impetuous fury; while the garrison, with deliberate aim, discharged a volley of stones and darts. In the mean time, the legionary soldiers, under their covered way, battered the foundation of the walls, and, having thrown up mounds of earth, attempted to

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force the gates. A pile of massy stones, which had been prepared by the besieged, was instantly rolled down with prodigious ruin: the Vitellians, crushed under the weight, or transfixed with darts, lay wounded, maimed, and mangled, at the foot of the ramparts. Horror and confusion followed. The Othonians were inspired with fresh courage. The slaughter increased; and the assailants, finding all their efforts defeated, with great precipitation, and no less dishonour, sounded a retreat. Cæcina saw the folly of an enterprise rashly undertaking. To avoid further disgrace, he resolved to raise the siege, and leave a camp, where he had nothing to expect but reproach and shame. He repassed the Po, and bent his march towards Cremona. He had not proceeded far, when he was joined by Turullius Cerealis, a centurion of principal rank, who had served under him in Germany, and also by Julius Briganticus, a Batavian by birth: the former deserted with a strong body of marine soldiers, and the latter with a small party of horse.

XXIII. Spurinna, as soon as he was informed of the movements of the enemy, sent dispatches to Annius Gallus, with the particulars of the seige, the gallant defence of Placentia, and the measures concerted by Cæcina. Gallus was then on his march, at the head of the first legion, to the relief of the place, little imagining that a few cohorts would be able to hold out against the strength and valour of the German army. It was, however, no sooner known that Cæcina had abandoned his enterprise,

and was then proceeding to Cremona, than the spirit of the legion blazed out at once. They desired to be led against the enemy. Their impatience rose to a pitch little short of sedition. It was with difficulty that Gallus appeased the tumult. He made halt at Bedriacum (*a*), a village situated between Verona and Cremona, and unhappily famous for the slaughter of two Roman armies. About the same time the Othonians gained a second advantage over the enemy. Martius Macer fought with success near Cremona. That officer, with the spirit of enterprise that distinguished him, embarked the gladiators on the Po, and, making a sudden descent on the opposite bank, fell with fury on the auxiliaries of Vitellius. All who attempted to make head against him were put to the sword; the rest fled with precipitation to Cremona. Macer was not willing to lose by rashness the fruit of his victory. He knew that, by the arrival of fresh forces, the fortune of the day might be changed, and, for that reason, recalled his men from the pursuit. This measure spread a general discontent amongst the soldiers. It was the misfortune of Otho's party to be on all occasions infected with suspicion, and, with a strange perversity, to put the worst construction on the conduct of their officers. The base of heart and petulant of tongue combined together, and with virulent invective defamed and blackened every character without distinction. Even Annius Gallus, Suetonius Paulinus, and Marius Celsus, three eminent generals, did not escape the shafts of calumny. They were charged with various crimes.

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But the murderers of Galba were the worst incendiaries. Conscious of their guilt, and finding no respite from remorse and fear, these miscreants made it their business to embroil, to distract, and throw every thing into confusion. They gave vent to their seditious designs with open insolence, and by clandestine letters infused their venom into the mind of Otho; a mind too susceptible, always hearkening to every malignant whisper, and only guarded against men of worth and honour; in prosperity weak and irresolute; in distress collected, firm, determined; misfortune made him a better man. In his present situation, easily alarmed, and suspecting all his officers, he sent to Rome for his brother Titianus, and committed to him the whole conduct of the war. The interval was filled by Celsus and Paulinus with active enterprise and brilliant success.

XXIV. Cæcina felt the disgrace of his late defeat, and saw with anxiety the fame of his army mouldering away. He had been roughly handled at Placentia, his auxiliaries were cut to pieces, and in every skirmish, not worthy of a particular detail, the enemy had the advantage. He likewise knew by sure intelligence that Valens was advancing with his army, and that commander might reap the laurels of the war. To prevent a circumstance so humiliating, he resolved, with more courage than judgment, to redeem his glory. With this intent he marched to a village called Castorum (*a*), distant about twelve miles from Cremona. At that place, in a wood that overhangs the road, he stationed the

flower of his auxiliaries in ambuscade. His cavalry had orders to take an advanced post, and, after provoking an engagement, to give ground at once, and draw the enemy forward, till an unexpected sally could be made from the woods. The stratagem was betrayed to the generals of Otho's army. Paulinus took the command of the infantry, while Celsus led on the cavalry. Their men were ranged in order of battle. In the left wing were placed the vexillaries of the thirteenth legion, four auxiliary cohorts, and five hundred horse. The high road was occupied by three prætorian cohorts, who formed the centre. The right wing consisted of the first legion, two auxiliary cohorts, and five hundred horse. Besides these, a thousand of the cavalry, selected from the prætorian and auxiliary bands, were kept as a body of reserve to support the broken ranks, or, if the enemy gave way, to rush on at once and complete the victory.

XXV. Before the two armies came to action, the Vitellians feigned a flight. Aware of the stratagem, Celsus checked the ardour of his men, and in his turn pretended to give ground. The adverse party, as they lay in ambush, thought they saw their opportunity, and, rushing forward inconsiderately, fell into a snare. The legions flanked them from both wings; the cohorts attacked in front; and the cavalry, wheeling round with rapidity, charged in the rear. Suetonius Paulinus still kept his infantry out of the engagement. By his natural temper slow and deliberate, he chose to take his measures with precau-

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tion, rather than hazard a sudden conflict, and owe his success to the chance of war. He ordered the hollows to be filled up, the ground to be cleared, and his ranks to be extended; wisely judging that it would then be time to think of victory, when he had taken care not to be conquered. During this delay the Vitellians seized the opportunity to shift their ground. They betook themselves to the adjacent vineyards, thick with interwoven branches, and, by consequence, difficult of access. Having there, and in a wood that lay contiguous, found a safe retreat, they recovered their courage, and sallied out to attack the prætorian cavalry. The best and bravest officers of that corps were cut to pieces. Epiphanes (*a*), the eastern king, who in support of Otho's cause faced every danger, was wounded in the engagement.

XXVI. At length the infantry, under the command of Paulinus, entered into the action. The front line of the enemy gave way at once, and the parties that came to support them were in like manner put to the rout. Cæcina had not the judgment to act with his whole strength at once. He brought up his men in detachments; and the consequence was, that, coming forward in succession, and no where strong enough, they soon gave way, and fled with the ranks already broken. During this confusion, a violent tumult broke out in Cæcina's camp. The soldiers were enraged that the whole army was not drawn out. They seized Julius Gratus, the præfect of the camp, and loaded him with irons, on a suspi-

cion that he held secret intelligence with his brother Julius Fronto, at that time a tribune in Otho's army, and, under a similar accusation, then confined in prison by the adverse party. Nothing now could equal the disorder and consternation that covered the whole Vitellian army. In the camp, in the field of battle, in the flight, and amongst the parties that came to support the fugitives, the confusion was such, that, if Paulinus had not sounded a retreat, it was the general opinion that Cæcina, with his whole army, might have been cut to pieces. In defence of his conduct, Paulinus answered, that, seeing how much toil and labour still remained, he was not willing to expose his men, already spent with the fatigue of the day, to fresh forces kept in reserve, and ready to issue from the adverse camp. An exhausted soldiery might, in that case, be overpowered; and, if once broken, no post, no station remained behind. With this reasoning the judicious few were satisfied, but in the lower ranks of the army discontent and murmuring still prevailed.

XXVII. The loss sustained in this engagement had no other effect on the vanquished Vitellians, than to reduce their turbulent spirit to a sense of military duty. Cæcina threw the whole blame of his defeat upon the ungovernable temper of the army, at all times more disposed to mutiny than to face the enemy. The men now saw their error, and began to submit to authority. Nor was this the case with regard to Cæcina only: the same reformation showed itself in the camp of Fabius Valens, who was now

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advanced as far as Ticinum (*a*). The soldiers under his command were taught, by the late event, no longer to despise the enemy. To retrieve the honour of the army, they now were willing to behave with due submission to their general. They had been, not long before, guilty of a bold and dangerous tumult, of which, at the exact point of time, no notice could be taken, without breaking the thread of the narrative, and departing too much from the transactions under Cæcina.

It may now be proper to give an account of that insurrection. The reader will remember, that, in the war between Nero and Vindex, the cohorts of the Batavian nation separated from the fourteenth legion, then on its way to Britain; and having heard, in the city of the Lingones, of commotions in favour of Vitellius, went over to the standard of Fabius Valens. Their arrogance, from that time, knew no bounds. They paraded the camp, in every quarter, and in the tents of the legions, making it their boast, "that by them the fourteenth legion had "been overawed; by them Italy was wrested out of "the hands of Nero; and upon their swords the issue "of the war depended." The Roman soldiers heard these speeches with indignation; disputes and quarrels filled the camp, and discipline was at an end. Valens saw his authority lessened, and knew too well, that, from clamour to actual mutiny the transition is short and sudden.

XXVIII. In this posture of affairs, Valens received advice that the Tungrians and Treverians

had met with a defeat, and that Otho's fleet was hovering on the coast of Narbon Gaul. He took that opportunity to order a detachment of the Batavians to march to the relief of the province; intending, at the same time, by a stroke of policy, to divide the mutinous troops, whom, in their collective body, he found impatient of control. This measure gave umbrage to the rest of his army. The auxiliaries murmured, and the legions complained aloud, "that "they were now to lose the bravest troops in the "service. The enemy was near at hand, and was "that a time to withdraw a body of gallant soldiers, "who had so often fought with undaunted courage, "and so often returned crowned with victory? If a "single province is of more moment than the city "of Rome, and the empire is but a secondary con-"sideration, why not march with the united strength "of the whole army? On the other hand, if Italy "must be the theatre of war; if there, and there "only, a decisive victory can be obtained; why se-"parate from the army those gallant veterans, like "the soundest limbs cut off from the body?"

XXIX. To allay this ferment, Valens went forth, preceded by his lictors. The men paid no regard to their general; they pelted him with stones; they forced him to fly before them; they pursued with opprobrious language, accusing him of having embezzled, to his own private use, the spoils of Gaul, the gold of Vienne (*a*), and the recompense due to the soldiers for all their toil and labour. They rushed to his pavilion, pillaged his camp-equipage,

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and, in hopes of finding hidden treasure, pierced the ground with their spears and javelins. Valens, in the mean time, disguised like a slave, lay concealed in the tent of an officer of the cavalry. Alphenus Varus, the præfect of the camp, saw the phrensy subsiding, and, in the ebb of their passions, thought it best to let repentance take possession of them by degrees. With that intent, he gave orders to the centurions neither to visit the night watch, nor suffer the usual signals to be given by sound of trumpet. A dead silence followed. The mutineers stood covered with astonishment, wondering that no one assumed the command; they gazed at each other; and trembled at being left to themselves. By silence and resignation they hoped to give a proof of returning virtue. In the end they burst into tears, and with humble supplications implored forgiveness. Valens ventured to appear. As soon as the soldiers saw him beyond expectation safe, unhurt, in a sordid dress; with tears starting from his eyes, a mingled tumult of joy and sorrow and affection swelled in every breast. With the quick transition of passions common with the multitude, they poured forth their congratulations; and with shouts of applause placed their general amidst the eagles and standards, on his tribunal. Valens acted with well-timed moderation. No man was singled out for punishment. Afraid, however, that, by too much coolness, he might make them suspect some deep design, he thought fit to reprimand a few by name, and his resentment went no further. In the distractions of a civil war, he knew that the power of the ge-

neral is never equal to the liberty claimed by his soldiers (*b*).

XXX. While Valens employed his army in throwing up entrenchments at Ticinum, an account of Cæcina's defeat reached the camp. The flame of sedition was ready to break out a second time. All agreed, that by the treachery of Valens they were detained from the field of battle. They resolved to linger no longer; they scorned to wait the motions of an inactive commander; they marched before the colours, and, ordering the standard bearers to push on with alacrity, never halted, till, by a rapid march, they joined Cæcina's army. In that camp Valens was in no kind of credit. The vanquished soldiers complained, that with an inferior force they were left exposed to the enemy; and, by extolling the strength and valour of their new friends, they hoped to conciliate esteem, and throw from themselves the imputation of cowardice. Valens was at the head of an army which exceeded that of Cæcina by almost double the number, and yet the latter was the favourite of the men. His liberal spirit gained him friends, and his generosity was praised by all. To the vigour of youth he united a graceful figure, and he possessed those nameless qualities (*a*), which, though of no solid value, conciliate favour, men know not why. Hence a spirit of emulation between the two commanders. Cæcina objected to his rival the sordid vices that disgraced his character; and, in return, Valens laughed at a man elate with pride and vain ostentation. And yet the two chiefs

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acted towards each other with disguised hostility. In their zeal for the common cause, their mutual animosities were suppressed, though not extinguished. In their letters, they treated Otho and his licentious practices in a style that showed they scorned all terms of future reconciliation. The conduct of the officers in the opposite army was very different. They spoke of Vitellius with reserve; and though his manners afforded ample materials for invective, they chose to contain themselves within the bounds of prudence.

XXXI. It may be here observed, that, whatever were the shades of vice in the opposite characters of the contending chiefs, death, in the end, made the true distinction between them: Otho fell with glory, and Vitellius with disgrace and infamy. During their lives, men dreaded greater mischief from the unbridled passions of Otho, than from the sluggish debauchery of Vitellius. The murder of Galba made the former an object of detestation; while the latter was never charged with being the author of the war (*a*). Vitellius, by his gluttony and sensual appetites, was his own enemy; Otho, by his profusion, his cruelty, and his daring spirit, was the enemy of his country. As soon as the forces under Cæcina and Valens had formed a junction, the Vitellian party wished for nothing so much as a decisive action. Otho was not determined which was most for his interest, a speedy engagement or a lingering war. In this state of irresolution, he called a council, when Suetonius Paulinus, an officer surpassed

by no man of that age, judged it consistent with his high military character, to weigh all circumstances, and upon the whole to give a decided opinion. He contended, that to bring the dispute to an immediate issue, was the business of Vitellius; and, on the contrary, to draw the war into length, was the game that Otho ought to play. He argued as follows:

XXXII. "The whole collected force of Vitel-
"lius is now in Italy: the resources which he has
"left behind him are inconsiderable. From Gaul
"he has nothing to expect. The spirit of that fierce
"and turbulent people is still in agitation; and while
"Germany, with hostile numbers, is ever ready to
"invade the Roman provinces, the banks of the
"Rhine cannot be left naked and defenceless. The
"legions in Britain have the natives on their hands,
"and they are divided by the sea. Spain cannot
"boast of resources. The province of Narbon
"Gaul has been harassed by Otho's fleet, and is
"still covered with consternation. The part of Italy
"which lies beyond the Po, is shut in by the Alps,
"deprived of all relief by sea, and the armies that
"passed that way have made the whole country a
"scene of desolation. There is no place from which
"Vitellius can hope to be supplied with grain; and
"he who wants provisions, in a short time will want
"an army. The Germans, a brave and warlike peo-
"ple, constitute the strength and bulwark of the
"Vitellian party: protract the war, and will they be
"able to go through a summer campaign? The
"change of soil, and the heat of the climate, will

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"relax their vigour. The war, that by strenuous "efforts may be pushed to a prosperous issue, grows "languid when drawn into length, and in a state of "tedious suspense whole armies have mouldered "away.

"On the other hand, Otho's party is in no want "of supplies; their friends are firm, and great re-"sources are still in reserve. Pannonia, Mæsia, "Dalmatia, and the eastern provinces, are able to "send numerous armies into the field. All Italy de-"clares for Otho: Rome, the capital of the empire, "is still in his possession; and, above all, he has "on his side the senate and the Roman people; illus-"trious names, and always of the first importance, "though their glory in some conjunctures has been "eclipsed. There is still in reserve a store of wealth, "both public and private; and riches at all times "are the sinews of war, in public dissensions more "powerful than the sword. The soldiers in the "service of Otho are in good condition, inured to "Italy, or seasoned to the heat in warmer climates. "In their front the river Po is a barrier, and there "are fortified cities, strongly garrisoned, all deter-"mined to hold out to the last. Of this the gallant "defence of Placentia is a sufficient proof. For "these reasons, a slow and lingering war is the best "expedient. Pass but a few days, and the fourteenth "legion, famous for its bravery, will arrive with a "strong reinforcement of auxiliaries from Mæsia. "A council of war may then be called; and should "it be thought advisable to hazard a battle, Otho, "in that event, may take the field with a superior "army."[2]

XXXIII. Marius Celsus concurred in this opinion. Annius Gallus was not present. He had been hurt by a fall from his horse a few days before, and was not yet recovered; but, being consulted by persons sent for the purpose, he acceded to the counsels of Paulinus. Otho was for trying the issue of a battle. His brother Titianus, and Proculus, the præfect of the prætorian guards, though neither of them had any military experience, did what in them lay to incite a temper of itself rash and precipitate. The gods, they said, and the tutelar genius of Otho, were present in council, and would not fail to guide and animate the battle. Such was the language of flattery. They made their poison palatable, and no man presumed to administer an antidote.

To offer battle was the result of the debate; but whether the emperor should command in person, or withdraw to a place of safety, was a question still to be discussed. Celsus and Paulinus gave no opinion. To expose the prince to the dangers of the field, was more than they chose to hazard. That point was left to the authors of the pernicious counsel already given. By their advice Otho retired to Brixellum, there to reserve himself for the good of the people and the majesty of empire. From this day the ruin of Otho may be dated. He took with him a considerable detachment of the prætorian cohorts, the body-guard, and a strong party of horse. After their departure, the spirit of the army began to droop. They suspected their officers. The prince, to whom the soldiers were faithfully attached, and who, in return, confided in them, and them

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only, abandoned his cause, without leaving a head to direct, or a general to whose authority the men were willing to submit.

XXXIV. During these transactions, nothing of all that passed was a secret in the camp of Vitellius. From the deserters, who in civil wars are always numerous, and also from the spies, whose genius it is, while they pry into the secrets of others, to betray their own, every thing transpired. Cæcina and Valens lay in wait for the motions of an enemy, whom they saw contriving their own destruction. To plan an enterprise was unnecessary, where the best wisdom was to succeed by the folly of others. In order, however, to give jealousy to the gladiators (*a*) on the opposite bank of the Po, and at the same time to keep their own soldiers employed, they began to throw a bridge over the river. As a foundation for the work, they ranged in proper order a number of boats, made fast at equal distances by strong timbers, with their prows turned against the current, and by their anchors secured from driving from the spot. The cables were of a length to play in the water, in order, when the stream increased, that the vessels might be gently lifted up and down without danger or confusion. In the boat at the further extremity of the bridge, they caused a tower to be erected, which served at once to close the passage, and give the men a station, where they might, with their battering engines, prevent the approach of the enemy.

XXXV. The Othonians also raised a tower on

the opposite bank, and thence were able to annoy the enemy with massy stones and flaming brands. A small island stood in the middle of the river. The gladiators attempted to pass over in boats; but the Germans, expert in swimming, dashed into the stream, and took possession of the place. In order to dislodge them, Macer put off with a strong party of gladiators on board his galleys: but the gladiators were not able to cope with regular soldiers; and the motion of the vessels not allowing them a firm footing, they fought at a disadvantage with men, who from the land were able to discharge their missive weapons with surer aim and more certain effect. On board the vessels all was hurry and confusion. The rowers and combatants obstructed each other. The Germans plunged into the river, and, seizing hold of the boats, boarded several, and sunk others to the bottom. The whole passed under the eye of both armies. The Vitellians looked on with joy, while the adverse party, stung with indignation, railed at Macer, whom they called the author of their disgrace.

XXXVI. The gladiators, in such vessels as they could save, retreated from the island, and by their flight put an end to the engagement. Macer was devoted to destruction. The soldiers clamoured for his blood. One of them darted his lance, and actually wounded him; while the rest rushed on sword in hand, and would have killed him on the spot, if the tribunes and centurions had not interposed to save him from their fury. In a short time after, Vestricius

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Spurinna, having, by order of Otho, left a moderate garrison at Placentia, came up to the main body with the cohorts under his command. Macer was superseded, and in his place Flavius Sabinus, consul elect, was appointed; to the great joy of the common men, who saw with pleasure every change of their officers. The commanders, in their turn, saw the unruly spirit of the army, and, with reluctance, accepted a service so often disturbed by tumult and sedition.

XXXVII. I find it asserted as a fact, and by authors of credit, that the two armies, dreading the calamities of war, and at the same time detesting the two rival princes, whose flagitious deeds grew every day more notorious, were disposed to lay down their arms, and either to name a person worthy of the succession, or to refer that matter to the choice of the senate. This, we are told, was the consideration that weighed with Otho's generals, when they proposed to draw the war into length, and, in particular, that Paulinus acted with that motive. He was the first and most distinguished of the consular rank, the highest in military reputation, and his conduct in Britain (*a*) had given superior lustre to his name. But though it may be reasonable to admit, that a few, in that juncture, had the public good at heart, and wished to see two vile competitors, the most abandoned of mankind, postponed to a virtuous prince; it is, notwithstanding, highly improbable that Paulinus, a man of experience and consummate understanding, should, in an age so corrupt and profli-

gate, amuse himself with hopes of finding one spark of virtue. He knew the madness of the times; and could he expect, that the same infatuated multitude, whose wickedness had kindled the flame of war, would on a sudden prefer the blessings of peace, and consent, for the repose of the world, to sheath the destructive sword? Can it be imagined, that the armies then in the field, dissonant in language, and in their manners still more discordant, could ever be brought to coalesce in one opinion? Above all, can it be supposed that the leading chiefs, a set of men immersed in luxury, overwhelmed with debts, and conscious of their crimes, would submit to any master who was not, like themselves, plunged in vice, and by gratitude for his elevation obliged to be the patron of the most pernicious citizens?

XXXVIII. The love of power and domination seems to be an instinct of the human heart (*a*), implanted by the hand of nature. Coeval with the foundation of Rome, it grew with the growth of the empire, and, in the hour of pride and grandeur, broke out with resistless violence. Before that period, while the republic was in its infancy, the equality of conditions was easily preserved. In process of time, when the pride of foreign kings was humbled, and rival nations submitted to the Roman arms, avarice began to accumulate riches, and contentions arose between the senate and the people. Factious tribunes prevailed at one time, and ambitious consuls at another. In the heart of the city, and even in the forum, the sword of discord was drawn, and those

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dissensions were a prelude to the rage of civil war. Caius Marius, a man sprung from the dregs of the populace, and Lucius Sylla, fierce and cruel beyond the rest of the nobility, overturned the constitution of their country, and on the ruins of public liberty established a system of tyranny and lawless power. Pompey came soon after, with passions more disguised, but no way better. From that time, the struggle has been for supreme dominion. The legions that filled the plains of Pharsalia, and afterwards met at Philippi, though composed of Roman citizens, never once thought of laying down their arms. And are we to believe that the armies of Otho and Vitellius were of a more pacific temper? They had instigations equally powerful: the same wrath of the gods pursued them; the same popular phrensy kindled the flame of discord; and the same vices conspired to urge them on to mutual slaughter. Their war, it is true, was ended by a single battle; but for that speedy issue the world was indebted, not to the virtue of the armies, but to the abject spirit of the contending princes. But these reflections on the spirit of antient and modern times have betrayed me into a long digression. I resume the thread of my narrative.

XXXIX. From the time when Otho withdrew to Brixellum, his brother Titianus assumed all the pride and pomp of commander in chief, but the power and real authority remained in the hands of Proculus. Celsus and Paulinus were no more than mere nominal generals. No man sought their advice. They were, in fact, superseded; serving no purpose but

that of screening the folly of others, and bearing the blame of blunders not their own. The tribunes and centurions could render no effectual service, while ignorance and insufficiency were preferred, and real talents lay neglected. The common men appeared with an air of alacrity, but more disposed to cavil with their generals, than to execute their orders. A sudden resolution was taken to shift their ground, and encamp within four miles of Bedriacum (*a*). They conducted their march, and chose their station, with such want of skill, that, though it was then the spring of the year, and the country round abounded with rivers, the army was distressed for want of water. The expediency of hazarding a battle became again the subject of debate. Otho, by frequent dispatches, insisted on the most vigorous measures: the soldiers called for their emperor, and with clamour demanded his presence on the day of battle. Many were of opinion, that the forces beyond the Po should be called in to reinforce the army. History has not materials to decide what would have been the most prudent measure; but it is certain, that of all possible evils they chose the worst.

XL. They resolved to march to the conflux of the Po (*a*) and the Addua, at the distance of sixteen miles. In this movement the soldiers presented no appearance of an army going to offer battle. They marched as if going to open a campaign, not to decide it. The measure was in direct opposition to the advice of Celsus and Paulinus. Those officers represented the danger of exposing the soldiers, fa-

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tigued by their march, and bending under the weight of their baggage, to the attack of an enemy unincumbered, and fresh from a march of four miles only. An army in that condition would seize their opportunity, and begin a general assault before Otho's men could form the line of battle; perhaps they were dispersed in small parties, or employed at the entrenchments. Titianus and Proculus were not to be convinced. When overcome by argument, they resorted to their orders, and the will of the prince was a decisive answer. About the same time a Numidian horseman (*b*), posting at full speed, arrived with letters from Otho, in a style of sharp reproof condemning the tedious operations of the army, and, in a peremptory tone, commanding his generals to bring on a decisive action. To a mind like his the interval of suspense was dreadful. Delay kept him in restless anxiety, and hope and fear distracted him.

XLI. On the same day, while Cæcina was employed in throwing a bridge over the Po, two prætorian tribunes arrived to demand an interview. They were admitted to an audience, when a sudden alarm from the scouts announced the enemy at hand. The business broke off abruptly, and the intention of the tribunes was left in the dark. What their design was, whether to betray their own party, to lay a snare for the Vitellians, or to make a fair and honourable proposal, cannot now be known. Cæcina dismissed the tribunes, and made the best of his way to the camp. He found that Valens had lost no time: the signal for battle was already given, and the

men were drawn out under arms. While the legions were eagerly employed in settling by lot the order in which they were to take their stations in the field, the cavalry advanced to charge the enemy, and contrary to all expectation, were put to the rout by an inferior number. The Othonians pursued with vigour, and would have forced them to fly for shelter to their entrenchments, had not the Italic legion opposed the runaways, and sword in hand compelled them to return to the charge. Meanwhile, the rest of the army, without hurry or confusion, drew up in order of battle, unmolested by the enemy, and, in fact, without being seen; as a thick coppice, that stood between both parties, intercepted their view.

In Otho's army nothing was seen but tumult and distraction; the chiefs without courage, or authority; the men mistrusting their officers; the ground not cleared of the baggage, and the followers of the camp mixing in the ranks. The road which they occupied was rendered so narrow, by a ditch on each side, that, even though no enemy were at hand, a march over the causey would have been performed with difficulty. Their whole army was in confusion; some crowding about their colours; others at a loss, and running to and fro to find their proper post; all in a confused clamour, roaring for their comrades, answering to their names, and confounding one another with noise and uproar. Some, still shifting their ground, advanced to the front line; others fell into the rear; none remaining in one spot, but shifting their ground, as fear or courage happened to prompt them.

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XLII. The Othonians had scarce recovered from their surprise, when a sudden incident diffused a general joy; but a joy that tended to lull them into security, and relax their courage into languor and stupid amazement. A report was spread, that the forces of Vitellius had abandoned his cause: but from what quarter it took its origin; whether by design or chance (*a*); from the emissaries of the Vitellians, or the adverse party, has never been explained. The effect on the minds of the Othonians, was altogether extraordinary. Laying aside all thoughts of coming to action, they saluted the opposite army, who stood astonished, and returned a deep and hollow murmur. Those in Otho's ranks, who did not know the cause of the civility shown by their friends, thought themselves betrayed. In that moment the Vitellians began the attack. Their army was in regular order, and their numbers were superior. The Othonians, still in disorder, and fatigued by their march, received the first impression with undaunted firmness. The place where the action grew warm being thick with trees and interwoven vine-branches, the combat varied according to the nature of the ground. They fought man to man; they engaged at a distance; they discharged their darts and missive weapons; they brought forward separate battalions, or advanced in the form of a wedge. On the high road the engagement was close and obstinate. Darts and lances were of no use. They fought hand to hand, foot to foot, and buckler against buckler. With their swords and axes they cut through helmets and breastplates.

They knew one another; each individual was conspicuous to his friends and enemies; his exploits were seen by all; and every man fought, as if the issue of the war depended upon his single arm.

XLIII. Upon an open plain of considerable extent, that lay between the Po and the high road, two legions met in fierce encounter; on the part of Vitellius, the one-and-twentieth, famed for its valour, and commonly known by the name of RAPAX (*a*); on the side of Otho, the first legion, entitled ADJUTRIX, which had never been in action, and now panted for an opportunity to flesh their maiden swords. Their first attack was not to be resisted. They broke through the ranks of the one-and-twentieth, and carried off their eagle. Roused by this disgrace, the Vitellians added rage to bravery, and bore down all before them. Orphidius Benignus, who commanded Otho's legion, fell in the conflict. His men were driven back with great slaughter, and the loss of several standards. In another part of the field, the thirteenth legion was routed by the fifth, and the fourteenth was hemmed in by superior numbers. Otho's generals had long since fled the field, while Cæcina and Valens continued to exert themselves, watching every turn of the battle, and supporting the ranks in every quarter. Fresh forces came to their assistance. The Batavians, under Varus Alphenus, having cut to pieces the gladiators attempting in boats to cross the Po, came into the field, flushed with success, and charged the enemy in flank.

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XLIV. The centre of Otho's army gave way, and fled with precipitation towards Bedriacum. A long space lay before them; the road was obstructed with heaps of slain, and the enemy hung upon their rear. In civil wars no prisoners are reserved for sale: the slaughter, for that reason, was the more dreadful (*a*). Suetonius Paulinus and Licinius Proculus fled different ways, both resolved not to return to the camp. Vedius Aquila, who commanded the thirteenth legion, by his own indiscretion exposed himself to the fury of the soldiers. He entered the camp, while it was yet broad day-light; and the very men, who were the first to turn their backs on the enemy, were now the foremost in sedition. They crowded round their superior officer with a torrent of abusive language, and offered violence to his person. They charged him with treachery, and desertion, in the true spirit of vulgar minds, transferring to others their own guilt and infamy. Titianus and Celsus owed their safety to the darkness of the night. They did not venture into the camp, till the sentinels were stationed at their posts, and the tumult was appeased by the entreaties, the advice, and authority of Annius Gallus, who had the address to make the men sensible of the folly and madness of adding to the havoc of the field by their own destructive fury. Whether the war was at an end, or to be once more renewed with vigour, he represented, in either case, the necessity of union among themselves. A face of sorrow and dejection covered the camp. All were hushed in silence; all but the prætorians, who still grumbled discontent,

asserting that they were defeated by treachery, not by the valour of the enemy. "The Vitellians," they said, "could not boast of a cheap victory. "Their cavalry was routed, and one of their legions "lost their eagle. Otho still survived, and the "troops beyond the Po were ready to advance; the "legions from Mæsia were on their march; and a "considerable part of the army, detained at Bedria-"cum, had no share in the action. These were still "in reserve; they were not conquered; and if a total "overthrow was to be their lot, they might fall with "glory in the field of battle." With these and such-like reflections the prætorians kept their minds in agitation, by turns inflamed with anger, or depressed with fear. They saw their ruined condition; despair succeeded, and from despair they derived courage and a spirit of revenge.

XLV. The victorious army halted at the distance of five miles from Bedriacum. The generals did not think it advisable on the same day to attempt the enemy's camp Expecting a voluntary surrender, they were willing to give their men some time to repose. To encamp was not in their power. The soldiers took the field, prepared for battle, unincumbered, and of course without the means of throwing up entrenchments. Their arms and their victory were their only fortification. On the following day the Othonians showed a pacific disposition; and even those, who the night before breathed nothing but war and vengeance, with one consent agreed to send a deputation to the enemy. The Vi-

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tellian leaders were willing to hearken to terms of accommodation. The deputies not returning immediately, the suspense occasioned an awful interval in Otho's camp. Peace was at length announced, and the entrenchments were thrown open. A tender scene ensued. The conquerors and the conquered embraced each other, and with mingled joy and sorrow lamented the horrors of civil war. In the same tents, relations, friends, and brothers dressed each others wounds. They now perceived that their hopes were a mere delusion, and that slaughter, sorrow, and repentance, were their certain lot. Nor was there in the two armies a single person, who had not the death of a friend or a relation to lament. The body of Orphidius, the commander of a legion, after diligent search, was found among the slain, and burnt with the usual solemnities. A few of the common men were buried by their friends: the rest were left to welter on the bare earth.

XLVI. Otho, in the mean time, having taken his resolution, waited, without fear, or dejection of mind, for an account of the event. Vague and uncertain rumours reached his ear. At length the fugitives, who escaped from the field, brought sure intelligence that all was lost. The soldiers, who stood near his person, did not stay to hear the sentiments of the emperor, but broke out with impatient ardour, exhorting him to summon up his best resolution. There were forces still in reserve, and, in their prince's cause, they were ready to brave every danger. In this declaration there was no flattery:

they spoke from the heart. In a fit of instinctive fury they desired to be led against the enemy; by their example the drooping spirit of their friends would be once more excited to deeds of valour. The men, who stood at a distance, stretched forth their hands in token of their assent, while such as gathered round the prince fell at his feet, and clasped his knees. Plotius Firmus distinguished himself by his zeal. This officer commanded the prætorian guards. He implored his master not to abandon an army devoted to his interest, nor to renounce a brave and generous soldiery, who had undergone so much, and were still ready to face every danger. "The "noble mind (*a*), he said, stands a siege against "adversity, while the little spirit capitulates at once. "True courage grapples with misfortune, and, in "the last distress, still makes head against every "difficulty. The mean and abject sink down in "despair, and yield without a struggle." The soldiers fixed their eyes on the prince, and with every symptom in his countenance their passions varied. If he assented, they thundered forth their applause; if he seemed inflexible, a groan expressed the anguish of their hearts. Nor was the spirit confined to the prætorians, who were properly the soldiers of Otho; it extended to the detachment sent forward by the Mæsian legions. Those men with one voice declared for Otho; they assured him, that the same zeal pervaded their comrades, who were coming forward by rapid marches, and even then had entered Aquileia. Hence it is evident, that great resources still remained, and that a fierce and obsti-

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nate war, uncertain in the event, and big with danger to all parties, might have been renewed, and carried on with vigour.

XLVII. Otho had weighed all circumstances: ambition was at an end, and he prepared to close the scene (*a*). He addressed the soldiers to the following effect: "When I behold the ardour that "glows in every breast; when I consider the virtue "that inspires so many gallant friends, I cannot "think of exposing you again to the destructive "sword; nor do I value my life at such a price. "The views which you display to me, were I dis-"posed to live, are bright and tempting: by re-"nouncing them, I fall with greater glory. I have "made acquaintance with fortune; we have tried "each other; for what length of time is not mate-"rial; but the felicity, which does not promise to "last, cannot be enjoyed with moderation. Vitellius "began the war; he claimed the empire, and, by "consequence, I was obliged to have recourse to "arms. That we fought once, his ambition was the "cause; to end the dispute by the event of one bat-"tle, and stop the effusion of Roman blood, shall "be my glory. By this conduct let posterity judge "of Otho. I restore to Vitellius his brother, his "wife and children. I want no revenge, I seek no "lenitives to sooth calamity. Others have held the "sovereign power longer than I have done; with "equal calmness no man has resigned it. Can I give "to the edge of the sword so many gallant soldiers? "Can I see the armies of Rome devoted to mutual

"slaughter, and for ever cut off from their country? "It is enough for me, that in my cause you are "ready to shed your blood. Let that generous zeal "attend me to my grave. I thank you for it: but "you must still survive to serve the commonwealth. "For this great end, let us agree to remove all ob-"stacles; I will be no bar to your preservation; nor "will you attempt to frustrate my resolution. When "death approaches, to linger in vain discourse is "the sign of a little spirit. The temper, with which "I meet my fate, will be seen and known by this "circumstance: I complain of no man. He who, in "in his last moments, can look back to arraign "either gods or men, still clings to life, and quits "it with regret."

XLVIII. Having thus declared his sentiments, he talked apart with his friends, addressing each of them in gracious terms, according to his rank, his age, or dignity, and advising all to depart without loss of time, and make their terms with the conqueror. He entreated the old men, and with the young exerted his authority. Calm and undisturbed, serenity in his countenance, and firmness in his voice, he saw his friends weep, and endeavoured to repress their tears. He ordered boats or carriages for those who were willing to depart. He selected all such papers and letters as happened to contain expressions of duty towards himself, or ill will to Vitellius, and committed them to the flames. He distributed money in presents, but not with the profusion of a man quitting the world. Observing

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that his brother's son, Salvius Cocceianus, a youth in the flower of his age, was dissolved in tears, he endeavoured to assuage his sorrows. He commended the goodness of his heart, but his fears, he said, were out of season. "Could it be supposed that "Vitellius, finding his own family safe, would re-"fuse, with brutal inhumanity, to return the gene-"rosity shown to himself? My death will leave him "without a rival, and that very act will be a de-"mand upon his clemency; especially, since it is "not an act of despair, but a voluntary resignation, "made at a time when a brave and generous army "calls aloud for another battle. For the good of the "commonwealth I am a willing victim. For myself "I have gained ample renown, and I leave to my "family an illustrious name. After the Julian race "(*a*), the Claudian, and the Servian, I am the first "who transferred the sovereignty to a new family. "It becomes you, young man, to act with courage; "you must dare to live. Remember that Otho was "your uncle, but remember it with modesty, and "without resentment."

XLIX. After this, he desired his friends to withdraw. Being left alone, he composed himself to rest, and, in a short time, began to prepare for the last act of his life. In that moment he was interrupted by a sudden uproar. The soldiers, he was told, threatened destruction to all who offered to depart, and in particular to Verginius (*a*), whom they kept besieged in his house. Otho went forth to appease the tumult. Having reproved the authors of the dis-

turbance, he returned to his apartment, and received the visits of all that came to bid the last farewell: he conversed with them freely and cheerfully, and saw them depart without let or molestation. Towards the close of day, he called for a draught of cold water, and having quenched his thirst, ordered two poniards to be brought to him. He tried the points of both, and laid one under his pillow. Being informed that his friends were safe on their way, he passed the night in quiet. We are assured, that he even slept. At the dawn of day, he applied the weapon to his breast, and fell upon the point. His dying groans alarmed his freedmen and slaves. They rushed into the chamber, and with them Plotius Firmus, the prætorian præfect. They found that with one wound he had dispatched himself. His body was burnt without delay. This had been his earnest request, lest his head (*b*) should fall into the hands of his enemies, and be made a public spectacle. He was borne on the shoulders of the prætorian soldiers to the funeral pile. The men, during the procession, paid all marks of respect to his remains. They printed kisses on his hands, and on the mortal wound, and in a flood of tears, poured forth their warmest praise. At the funeral pile some of the soldiers put an end to their lives; not from any consciousness of guilt, nor yet impelled by fear; but to emulate the example of their prince, and to show themselves faithful to the last. At Bedriacum, Placentia, and other camps, numbers followed the example. A sepulchre (*c*) was raised to the memory of Otho, but of an ordinary structure, protected by its meanness, and therefore likely to last.

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L. Such was the end of Otho, in the thirty-seventh year of his age. He was born in the municipal city of Ferentum. His father was of consular rank; his grandfather had discharged the office of prætor. By the maternal line his descent was respectable, though not illustrious. The features of his character, as well in his earliest days (*a*) as in the progress of his youth, have been already delineated. By two actions of his life he stands distinguished; one, atrocious and detestable; the other, great and magnanimous: the former has consigned his name to eternal infamy, and the last will do honour to his memory. History cannot descend to the frivolous task of collecting vague reports, in order to amuse the reader with a fabulous detail; but there are traditions, which have been handed down with an air of authenticity, and these I shall not take upon me to suppress or to refute. On the day when the battle was fought at Bedriacum, a bird of unusual appearance was observed to perch in a grove near Regium Lepidum (*b*), and, notwithstanding the great concourse of people, and a numerous flight of other birds, never to move from its place till Otho put an end to his life. That event no sooner happened, than it waved its wings, and vanished out of sight. The people of the village aver the fact; and according to curious observers, who made an exact computation of the time, this extraordinary phænomenon tallied exactly with the beginning of the battle and the prince's death (*c*).

LI. The grief of the soldiers, at the funeral cere-

mony, drove them, in a fit of distraction, to another mutiny. No officer assumed the command; no one interfered to allay the ferment. The men demanded a sight of Verginius; one moment calling upon him to accept the sovereignty, and the next, with mingled prayers and menaces, pressing him to undertake an embassy on their behalf to Valens and Cæcina. Verginius, seeing them determined to enter his house by force, made his escape at the back door. The cohorts that lay encamped at Brixellum, deputed Rubrius Gallus with terms of submission. That officer obtained their pardon. At the same time Flavius Sabinus made terms for himself, and, with the troops under his command, submitted to the conqueror.

LII. Though the war was now at an end, a great part of the senate, who accompanied Otho from Rome, and by him were left at Mutina, found themselves involved in the utmost danger. They received an account of the defeat at Bedriacum, but the soldiers treated it as a false alarm. Suspecting the integrity of the fathers, and fully persuaded that they were, in secret, enemies to Otho and his cause, they watched their motions, listened to their words, and, with their usual malignity, gave to every thing that passed the worst construction. They proceeded to reproach and every kind of insult, hoping to find a pretence for an insurrection and a general massacre. The senators saw another cloud gathering over their heads: they knew that the Vitellian party triumphed; and, if they were tardy with their congratulations,

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the delay might be thought a spirit of disaffection. In this dilemma they called a meeting of the whole order. No man dared to act alone. In the conduct of all, each individual hoped to find his own personal safety. At the same time an ill-judged compliment from the people of Mutina increased the apprehensions of the senators. The magistrates of the city made a tender of arms and money for the public service, and, in the style of their address, gave to a small party of senators the appellation of conscript fathers; a title always applied to the collective body.

LIII. In the debate that followed in a thin meeting of the fathers, a violent dispute broke out between Licinius Cæcina and Eprius Marcellus; the former, with warmth and vehemence, charging it as a crime against Marcellus, that he spoke in ambiguous terms and with studied obscurity. The case was by no means singular; all were equally dark and mysterious: but the name of Marcellus, who had conducted so many prosecutions (*a*), was universally detested; and Cæcina, a new man lately admitted into the senate, thought to rise by encountering powerful enmities. The dispute was ended by the interposition of wiser men. The senate adjourned to Bononia, intending there to meet again, when they hoped to have more certain intelligence. They stationed messengers on all the public roads to interrogate every man that passed. One of Otho's freedmen came in their way. Being asked why he had left his master, he made answer, "I have with

"me the directions and last will of the prince, who "is still alive, but he renounces all the joys of life: "his thoughts are fixed upon posterity, and he has "now no other care." This account made an impression on every mind: all stood astonished, and soon after, without asking any further questions, went over to Vitellius.

LIV. Lucius Vitellius, brother of the new emperor, attended the meeting of the senate. The fathers began to address him in a flattering strain, and he was willing to receive their incense. His joy was soon interrupted. One Cænus, a freedman of Nero's, by a bold and impudent falsehood, threw the assembly into consternation. He affirmed it as a fact, that the fourteenth legion, with the forces from Brixellum, attacked the victorious party, and gained a complete victory. The motive of this man for framing a story so false and groundless, was because he saw Otho's orders for road horses (*a*) and carriages no longer in force, and he wished to revive their former authority. By this stratagem he gained a quick conveyance to Rome, and in a few days was put to death by order of Vitellius. In the mean time, the Othonian soldiers gave credit to the fiction, and even believed that the fathers, who had departed from Mutina to deliberate at Bononia, were gone over to the enemy. From this time the senate was convened no more. Every man acted with his own private views, till letters arrived from Fabius Valens, and put an end to all their fears. Besides this, the death of Otho was universally known. The

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velocity of fame was equal to the glory of that heroic action.

LV. Meanwhile, at Rome a general calm prevailed. The games sacred to Ceres (*a*) were celebrated according to annual custom. In the midst of the public spectacle intelligence arrived that Otho was no more, and that all the military then in the city had, at the requisition of Flavius Sabinus, sworn fidelity to Vitellius: the people heard the news with transport, and the theatre shook with applause. The audience, crowned with laurel wreaths, and strewing the way with flowers, went forth in procession, and, with the images of Galba displayed in a triumphant manner, visited the several temples, and afterwards with their chaplets raised a fancied tomb to his memory, on the spot, near the lake of Curtius, where that emperor breathed his last. The various honours which flattery at different times had lavished on former princes, were decreed by the senate to the new sovereign. They passed a vote of thanks to the German armies, and dispatched special messengers to congratulate Vitellius on his accession to the imperial dignity. A letter from Fabius Valens to the consuls was read in the senate; and though there was nothing of arrogance in the style, the respectful modesty of Cæcina, who remained silent, gave greater satisfaction.

LVI. Peace was now established throughout Italy; but it was a peace more destructive than the calamities of war. The Vitellian soldiers, quartered

in the colonies and municipal cities, were still bent on spoil and rapine. They committed the most horrible outrages, deflouring the women, and trampling on all laws human and divine. Where they refrained from injury, they received a bribe for their forbearance. Nothing sacred or profane was spared. Innocent men were marked out as soldiers of Otho's party, and, under that pretence, murdered by their private enemies. The soldiers who best knew the country, fixed upon the opulent farmers as their devoted prey. Where the lands were rich, they laid waste and plundered without control. All who resisted were put to the sword. The general officers had no power to check the mischief. What they had done themselves, they could not oppose in others. Cæcina had not the avarice of his colleague; popularity was his passion. Valens, on the contrary, had made himself infamous by his rapacity, and was therefore obliged to connive, when he saw his own vices practised by others. Italy was long since exhausted, and, in that impoverished state, obliged to maintain numerous armies, and to bear the superadded grievances of riot, insult, and devastation.

LVII. Vitellius, in the mean time, advanced towards Italy with the remainder of the German armies, ignorant of his victory, and still conceiving that he was to meet the whole weight of the war. A few of the veteran soldiers were left behind in winter quarters; and to recruit the legions, which retained little more than their name, hasty levies were made in Gaul. On the frontiers bordering on the Rhine

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the command was given to Hordeonius Flaccus. To his own army Vitellius added eight thousand men from Britain. Having marched a few days, he received intelligence of the victory at Bedriacum, and the conclusion of the war by the death of Otho. He called an assembly of the soldiers, and, in a public harangue, extolled the valour of the troops that conquered in his service. He had with him a freedman of the name of Asiaticus (*a*). The army wished to see him raised to the dignity of a Roman knight. Vitellius knew that the request was a flight of adulation, and had the spirit to reject it; but such was his natural levity, that what he refused in public, he granted in private over his bottle. And thus a despicable slave, who was goaded on by ambition, and had nothing to recommend him but his vices, was honoured with the equestrian ring.

LVIII. About the same time Vitellius received advices that the two Mauritanias (*a*) had acceded to his party. This event was occasioned by the murder of Luceius Albinus, the governor of that country. The province which was called Cæsariensis had been by Nero committed to Albinus; and the other, called Tingitana, was afterwards added by Galba. In consequence of his extensive command, the governor was master of a considerable force; not less than nineteen cohorts, five squadrons of horse, and a numerous body of Moors, accustomed to live by depredation, and by their hardy course of life prepared for the fatigues of war. Albinus, on the death of Galba, declared in favour of Otho, and,

not content with his power in Africa, began to form an enterprise against Spain, which was separated by a narrow channel (*b*). Cluvius Rufus presided in Spain. Alarmed at the projects of the commander in Africa, he ordered the tenth legion to march to the sea-coast, with a design, as he gave out, to cross the sea. In the mean time he dispatched a few chosen centurions to tamper with the Moors, and draw them over to the interest of Vitellius. This was not a difficult task. The fame of the German armies resounded through all the provinces. A report prevailed, at the same time, that Albinus, disdaining the title of procurator, had usurped the regal diadem, and the name of Juba.

LIX. The currents of popular opinion were by these circumstances entirely changed in Africa. Asinius Pollio, who commanded a squadron of horse in that country, and professed himself devoted to Albinus, was immediately murdered. Festus and Scipio, each the præfect of a cohort, shared the same fate. Albinus himself, after a short voyage from the province of Tingitana to that of Cæsariensis, was put to death as soon as he landed. His wife, attempting to oppose the assassins, perished with her husband. These transactions passed without the notice of Vitellius. Nothing awakened his curiosity. Even in matters of the highest importance, the attention of a moment was all that could be expected from a man who had neither talents nor application to business. He ordered his army to pursue their march into Italy, while he himself

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sailed down the Arar (*a*); not with the pomp and grandeur of a prince, but still exposing to public view the distress and poverty (*b*) of his former condition. At length Junius Blæsus, at that time governor of the Lyonese Gaul, a man of a large and liberal mind, by his birth illustrious, and of a spirit equal to his vast possessions, supplied Vitellius with a train suited to the imperial dignity, and attended in person to do honour to the new emperor. Vitellius saw this display of magnificence with an evil eye, but under specious and even servile caresses took care to hide his jealousy. At Lyons the general officers of both parties, as well the vanquished as the victorious, attended to do homage to the prince. Vitellius in a public speech pronounced the panegyric of Valens and Cæcina, whom he placed on each side of his curule chair. He then ordered out the whole army to receive his son, then an infant of tender years. The soldiers obeyed. The father took the child in his arms, and, having adorned him with a purple robe, and other marks of princely grandeur, saluted him by the title of GERMANICUS; in this manner bestowing extravagant honours, even in the tide of prosperity ill judged and out of season; but, perhaps, in the reverse of fortune that happened afterwards, some source of consolation.

LX. The centurions who had signalized themselves in Otho's service, were by order of Vitellius put to death. By this act of cruelty, he lost the affections of the forces from Illyricum. The rest of

the legions caught the infection, and, being already on bad terms with the German soldiery, began to meditate a revolt. Suetonius Paulinus and Licinius Proculus were kept for some time in a wretched state of suspense. Being at length admitted to an audience, they made a defence, which nothing but the necessity of the times could excuse. They charged themselves with treachery to Otho, and to their own sinister designs ascribed the march of the army on the day of battle, the fatigue of the troops, and the confusion in the ranks, occasioned by not removing the baggage, with many other incidents, from which, though accidental, they derived to themselves the merit of fraud and perfidy. Vitellius gave them credit for their guilt, and pardoned, though they had been in arms against himself, their attachment to his enemy. Salvius Titianus was exempt from danger. Natural affection made him join his brother, and his despicable character sheltered him from resentment. Marius Celsus, consul elect, was suffered to succeed to his honours, though Cæcilius Simplex, as was generally believed, endeavoured by bribery to supplant him. His ambition aimed at the consulship, and would fain have risen on the ruins of an Othonian officer. The attempt was afterwards objected to him in open senate. The emperor, however, withstood his solicitations, but, in time, raised him (*a*) to that high office, without the guilt of bribery or murder. Trachalus was attacked by his enemies, but owed his safety to the protection of Galeria, the wife of Vitellius.

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LXI. Amidst the dangers that involved the first men of the age, it may be thought beneath the dignity of history to relate the wild adventure of one Mariccus, a Boian by birth, and sprung from the dregs of the people. This man, however mean his condition, had the presumption to mix his name with men who fought for the empire of the world. In a fit of enthusiasm, pretending to have præternatural lights, he called himself the tutelar Deity of Gaul, and, in the character of a god, dared to defy the Roman arms. He played the impostor so well, that he was able to muster eight thousand men. At the head of that deluded multitude, he made an attempt on the adjacent villages of the Æduans. The people of that nation were not to be deluded. They armed the flower of their youth, and, with a reinforcement from the Roman cohorts, attacked the fanatics, and put the whole body to the rout. Mariccus was taken prisoner, and soon after given to the wild beasts (*a*). The populace, astonished to see that he was not immediately torn to pieces, believed him to be sacred and inviolable. Vitellius ordered him to be executed under his own eye; and that catastrophe cured the people of their bigotry.

LXII. From this time the partisans of Otho were no longer persecuted. Their persons and their effects remained inviolable. The last wills of such as fell in that unfortunate cause were allowed to be valid, and, where no will was made, the law in cases of intestacy took its course. In fact, it was the luxury of Vitellius that oppressed mankind: from

his avarice there was nothing to fear. His gluttony (*a*) knew no bounds. To administer to his appetite, Rome and Italy were ransacked for rarities. The roads from both the seas rung with a din of carriages, loaded with whatever was exquisite to the palate. To entertain him on his march, the principal men of every city were obliged to lavish all their wealth, and the country was exhausted. The soldiers, degenerating into a band of epicures, lost all regard for military duty. They despised their prince, yet followed his example. Vitellius, by an edict sent forward to Rome, signified his pleasure to postpone for the present the title of Augustus; and for that of Cæsar, he declined it altogether. The prerogative of the prince was sufficient for his ambition. He ordered the mathematicians to be banished out of Italy, and, under heavy penalties, restrained the Roman knights from disgracing themselves by fighting prizes like common gladiators, and by exhibiting their persons on the public stage. That infamous practice was introduced by former princes, who did not scruple to allure men to the theatre by donations of money, and, when bribery failed, to drive them to it by force and violence. The contagion reached the municipal towns and colonies, where it became the general practice to lie in wait for the young and profligate, in order, by the temptation of money, to invite them to disgrace and infamy.

LXIII. The character of Vitellius, soon after the arrival of his brother (*a*) and other courtiers from

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Rome, came forth in the blackest colours. That pernicious crew began to teach their maxims of despotism, and the prince displayed his cruelty and his arrogance. He gave orders for the execution of Dolabella, who, as already stated, on the first breaking out of the war was banished by Otho to the colony of Aquine. Being there informed of that emperor's death, he ventured to return to Rome. That step was objected to him as a crime by his intimate friend, Plancius Varus, a man of prætorian rank. He preferred his accusation, in form, before Flavius Sabinus, the præfect of the city. The specific charges were, that Dolabella broke from his place of confinement, to offer himself as a leader to the vanquished party, and, with that view, had endeavoured to seduce to his interest the cohort stationed at Ostia. In the course of the trial, Dolabella heard the whole of the evidence with undaunted firmness, never showing the smallest symptom of anxiety: but sentence of condemnation was pronounced, and he then found it too late to sue for mercy. The business, however, seemed to Flavius Sabinus of such importance, that he began to hesitate, till Triaria, the wife of Lucius Vitellius, a woman fierce and cruel beyond her sex, advised him not to seek the fame of clemency by sacrificing the interest of the prince. Sabinus did not want humanity; but, when danger threatened himself, his resolution failed. With a sudden change of mind he began to temporise, and, in order to secure his own personal safety, lent his aid to precipitate the fall of a man, whom he did not dare to protect.

LXIV. By this business Vitellius was alarmed for himself, and he had motives of inveterate hatred. Petronia, his former wife (*a*), was no sooner divorced, than Dolabella married her. Hence that unhappy man was an object of the emperor's fixed resentment. By letters dispatched to Rome, he invited him to his presence, advising him, at the same time, to shun the Flaminian road, and come more privately by the way of Interamnium. At that place, he ordered him to be put to death. The assassin thought he should lose too much time. Impatient to do his work, he attacked Dolabella at an inn on the road, and, having stretched him on the ground, cut his throat. Such was the beginning of the new reign, a prelude to scenes of blood that were still to follow. The furious spirit of Triaria, who took so active a part in this affair, was the more detested, as it stood in contrast to the mild character of Galeria, the emperor's wife, and also to that of Sextilia (*b*), his mother; a woman of virtue and benevolence, formed on the model of ancient manners. On receipt of the first letters from the emperor, wherein he assumed the title of Germanicus, she is said to have declared, that she had no son of that name, but was the mother of Vitellius (*c*). She persevered with the same equal temper, never elated by the splendour of her family, nor deceived by the voice of flattery. In the prosperity of her sons she took no part; in their distress, she grieved for their misfortunes.

LXV. Vitellius set out from Lyons, but had not proceeded far, when he was met by Marcus Cluvius

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Rufus, who came from his government in Spain to congratulate the emperor on his accession. That officer appeared with joy in his countenance, and anxiety in his heart. He knew that an accusation had been prepared against him by Hilarius, one of the emperor's freedmen, importing that, during the war between Otho and Vitellius, Rufus intended to set up for himself, and convert both the Spains into an independent state; and that, with this view, he had issued various edicts, without inserting the name of any prince whatever, and also made public harangues, to blacken the character of Vitellius, and recommend himself to popular favour. The interest of Rufus was too powerful. He triumphed over his adversary, and the freedman was condemned to punishment. Rufus, from that time, ranked among the emperor's intimate friends. He continued in favour at court, and, at the same time, retained his government of Spain; during his absence carrying on the administration of the province by his deputies, according to the precedent left by Lucius Arruntius (*a*), whom Tiberius, from suspicion and the jealousy of his nature, never suffered to depart from Rome. Trebellius Maximus (*b*) had not the good fortune to meet with equal favour. He had been the governor of Britain, but by a mutiny among the soldiers was obliged to escape out of the island. Vectius Bolanus (*c*), then a follower of the court, succeeded to the command.

LXVI. Vitellius heard, with deep anxiety, that the vanquished legions still retained a fierce and un-

conquered spirit. Dispersed through Italy, and in every quarter intermixed with the victorious troops, they talked in a style of disaffection, breathing vengeance and new commotions. The fourteenth legion took the lead, denying, with ferocity, that they were ever conquered. It was true, they said, that at Bedriacum a vexillary detachment from their body was defeated, but the legion had no share in the action. To remove such turbulent spirits, it was judged proper to order them back into Britain, where they had been stationed till recalled by Nero. The Batavian cohorts were ordered to march at the same time; and, as an old animosity subsisted between them and the soldiers of the fourteenth legion, orders were given that they should all be quietly quartered together. Between men inflamed with mutual hatred a quarrel soon broke out. It happened, at the capital of the Turinians (*a*), that a Batavian soldier had words with a tradesman, whom he charged with fraud and imposition. A man belonging to the legion took the part of his landlord. A dispute ensued; their comrades joined them; from abusive language they proceeded to blows; and, if two prætorian cohorts had not overawed the Batavians, a bloody conflict must have been the consequence. Vitellius, satisfied with the fidelity of the Batavians, incorporated them with his army. The legion had orders to proceed over the Graian Alps (*b*), and by no means to approach the city of Vienne, where the inhabitants were suspected of disaffection. The legion marched in the night, and left their fires burning. The consequence was a confla-

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gration, by which a great part of the Turinian city was destroyed. The loss sustained by the inhabitants, like many other calamities of war, was soon obliterated by the ruin of other cities. The soldiers had scarce descended from the Alps, when they ordered the standard-bearers to march towards the colony of Vienne. The attempt, however, was prevented by the good sense of such as were observers of discipline, and the whole legion passed over into Britain.

LXVII. The prætorian cohorts gave no less disquietude to Vitellius. To break their force, he separated them first into small parties, and soon after discharged them from the service; professing, however, in order to soften resentment, that they were, by their length of service, entitled to an honourable dismission. They delivered up their arms to the tribunes; but, being informed that Vespasian was in motion, they assembled again, and proved the best support of the Flavian cause. The first legion of marines was ordered into Spain, that in repose and indolence their spirit might evaporate. The seventh and eleventh returned to their old winter quarters. For the thirteenth employment was found in the building of two amphitheatres; one at Cremona, and the other at Bononia. In the former Cæcina was preparing to exhibit a spectacle of gladiators, and Valens in the latter; both wishing to gratify the taste of their master, whom, in the midst of arduous affairs, nothing could wean from his habitual pleasures.

LXVIII. By these measures the vanquished party was sufficiently weakened; but the spirit of the conquerors could not long endure a state of tranquillity. A quarrel broke out, in its origin slight and ridiculous, but attended with consequences that kindled the flame of war with redoubled fury. The occasion was as follows: Vitellius gave a banquet at Ticinum, and Verginius was of the party. The manners of the chiefs are ever sure to set the fashion for the tribunes and centurions. From the example of the officers, vice or virtue descends to the soldiers. In the army of Vitellius, all was disorder and confusion; a scene of drunken jollity, resembling a bacchanalian rout, rather than a camp, or a disciplined army. It happened that two soldiers, one belonging to the fifth legion, the other a native of Gaul, serving among the auxiliaries of that nation, challenged each other to a trial of skill in wrestling. The Roman was thrown; his antagonist exulted with an air of triumph; and the spectators, who had gathered round them, were soon divided into parties.

The legions, provoked by the insolence of the Gaul, attacked the auxiliaries sword in hand. Two cohorts were cut to pieces. The sudden danger of another tumult put an end to the fray. A cloud of dust was seen at a distance, and, at intervals, the glittering of arms. A report was instantly spread, that the fourteenth legion was returning to offer battle; but the mistake was soon discovered. It was found, that the men who brought up the rear of the army were approaching. That circumstance being known, the tumult subsided, till one of the slaves

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of Verginius was observed by the soldiers. They seized the man, and, in their fury, charged him with a design to assassinate Vitellius. With this notion in their heads, they rushed directly to the banqueting-room, and with rage and clamour demanded the immediate execution of Verginius. The emperor, though by nature addicted to suspicion, entertained no doubt of Verginius. He interposed to save his life, and with difficulty restrained the men, who thirsted for the blood of a consular commander, at one time their own general. It had ever been the fate of Verginius, more than of any other officer, to encounter the seditious spirit of the army. His character, notwithstanding, was held in great esteem; his brilliant talents extorted admiration even from his enemies; but the moderation, with which he rejected the imperial dignity, was considered as an affront. The soldiers thought themselves despised, and from that moment resented the injury.

LXIX. On the following day, the deputies from the senate, who according to order attended at Ticinum, were admitted to an audience. That business over, Vitellius visited the camp, and, in a public harangue, expressed a lively sense of the zeal which the soldiers had exerted in his service. This proceeding roused the jealousy of the auxiliaries. They saw the insolence of the legionary soldiers, and the impunity with which they committed the most outrageous actions. It was to prevent the consequences of this dangerous jealousy, that the Batavian cohorts had been ordered back to Germany, the

fates even then preparing the seeds of a foreign (*a*) and a civil war. The allies from Gaul were also dismissed to their respective states; a vast unwieldy multitude, drawn together in the beginning of the revolt, not for actual service, but chiefly for vain parade, and to swell the pomp of a numerous army. The imperial revenues being well nigh exhausted, there was reason to apprehend a want of funds to answer the largesses of the prince. To prevent that distress, Vitellius ordered the complement of the legions and auxiliaries to be reduced, and no new levies to be made. Dismissions from the service were granted indiscriminately to all who applied. The policy was of the worst consequence to the commonwealth, and, at the same time, a grievance to the soldiers, who felt themselves oppressed by returns of military duty, too frequent for the scanty numbers that remained. Their fatigue increased, while their manners were debauched, and their vigour wasted by the vices of a luxurious life, so different from the institutions of the old republic, when money was despised, and virtue was the energy of the state.

LXX. Vitellius proceeded to Cremona. Having there attended a spectacle of gladiators exhibited by Cæcina, he was led by curiosity to the field of Bedriacum, in order to see on the spot the vestiges of his recent victory. The fields around presented a mournful spectacle. Forty days (*a*) had elapsed, and the plain was still covered with bodies, gashed and mangled; with broken limbs, and men and horses

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in one promiscuous carnage; clotted gore, and filth, and putrefaction; the trees cut down, and the fruits of the earth trampled under foot; the whole a dreary waste, the desolation of nature. The view of the high road was no less shocking to humanity. The people of Cremona, amidst the horrors that covered the face of the country, had strewed the way with roses and laurels, and had even raised altars, where victims were slain, as if a nation of slaves had been employed to adorn the triumph of a despotic prince. But these servile acts, with which an abject people rejoiced over human misery, in a short time after brought on their own destruction. Valens and Cæcina attended the emperor to the field. They pointed to the particular spots, where the stress of the battle lay: "Here the legions rushed on to the attack; "there the cavalry bore down all before them; from "that quarter the auxiliaries wheeled about, and "surrounded the enemy." The tribunes and præfects of cohorts talked of their own exploits; and the truth, if they mingled any, was warped and disfigured by exaggeration. The common soldiers quitted the road, to mark the places where they had fought, and to survey the arms and dead bodies of the vanquished piled up in heaps. They viewed the scene with brutal joy, and wondered at the destruction they had made. Some, with generous sympathy, felt the lot of humanity, and tears gushed from every eye. Vitellius showed no symptom of compassion. He saw, without emotion, the bodies of Roman citizens unburied on the naked ground, and, with fell delight, offered a sacrifice to the dei-

ties of the place, little then suspecting the reverse of fortune which was soon to overtake himself.

LXXI. At Bononia Fabius Valens exhibited a show of gladiators, with a pompous display of decorations, which he had ordered to be brought from Rome. In proportion as the emperor advanced towards the capital, riot and licentiousness grew still more outrageous. Players of interludes and a band of eunuchs mixed with the soldiers, and revived all the vices of Nero's court. Vitellius admired the manners of that shameful period; and wherever Nero went to display his voice and minstrelsy, he was sure to be one of his followers, not by compulsion, as was the case with men of integrity, but of his own motion, a willing sycophant, allured by his palate, and bribed by gluttony. In order to open the way for Valens and Cæcina to the honours of the consulship, the time of those in office (*a*) was abridged. Martius Macer (*b*), who had been a general in Otho's party, was passed over in silence; and Valerius Marinus, who had been put in nomination by Galba, was also set aside, not for any charge alleged against him, but because, being a man of a passive temper, he was willing to acquiesce under every injury without a murmur. Pedanius Costa shared the same fate. He had taken an active part against Nero, and even endeavoured to excite the ambition of Verginius. He was, in fact, rejected for that offence, though other reasons were pretended. For this proceeding, Vitellius received

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public thanks: to acts of oppression, the servility of the times gave the name of wisdom.

LXXII. About this time a daring fraud was attempted, at first with rapid success, but in a short time totally defeated. A man of low condition thought he might emerge from obscurity, by taking upon him the name of Scribonianus Camerinus (*a*). His story was, that, during the reign of Nero, to elude the fury of the times, he had lain concealed in Istria, where the followers of the ancient Crassi still occupied the lands of their former masters, and retained their veneration for that illustrious house. To carry on this ridiculous farce, the impostor engaged the vile and profligate in his interest. The vulgar, with their usual credulity, and the soldiers, either led into an error or excited by their love of innovation, joined in the plot. Their leader was seized, and brought into the presence of Vitellius. Being interrogated who and what he was, he was found to be a fugitive slave, of the name of Geta, recognized, as soon as seen, by his master. He was condemned to suffer the death of a slave (*b*), in the manner inflicted by the law.

LXXIII. Advice was at length received from Syria and Judæa, that the East submitted to the new emperor. The pride with which Vitellius was bloated upon this occasion, is scarcely credible. Intelligence from that part of the world had been hitherto vague and uncertain; but Vespasian was in the mouths of men, and the rumour of the day

filled the world with reports, that sometimes roused Vitellius from his lethargy. He started at the name of Vespasian. At length the cloud was blown over, and a rival was no longer dreaded. The emperor and his army plunged into every excess of cruelty, lust, and rapine, as if a foreign tyranny and foreign manners had overturned the empire.

LXXIV. Meanwhile Vespasian took a view of his own situation, and weighed with care all possible events. He considered the importance of the war, and made an estimate of his strength, the resources in his power, and the forces at a distance, as well as those that lay near at hand. The legions were devoted to his interest, insomuch that, when he showed himself the first to swear fidelity to Vitellius, and offer up vows for the prosperity of his reign, the soldiers marked their displeasure by a sullen silence. Mucianus was the friend of Titus, and by no means averse from the father. The præfect of Egypt, whose name was Alexander, was ready to promote the enterprise. The third legion, which had been removed from Syria to Mæsia, Vespasian considered as his own, and had, besides, good reason to hope, that the forces in Illyricum would enter into the confederacy. In fact, the armies, wherever stationed, were every day more and more incensed against the soldiers that came amongst them from the Vitellian party; a set of men, rough and horrid in their appearance, savage in their manners, and in their brutal discourse affecting to treat the legions of the East with con-

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tempt and derision. But, in an enterprise of such importance, it was natural to doubt, and hesitate. Vespasian remained for some time in a state of suspense, now elate with hope, and soon depressed with fear. "What an awful day must that be, when "he should unsheath the sword, and commit him-"self, at the age of sixty, with his two sons (a) in "the prime season of life, to the danger of a civil "war! In undertakings of a private nature, men may "advance or retreat, as they see occasion; but when "the contest is for sovereign power, there is no "middle course. You must conquer, or perish in "the attempt."

LXXV. An officer of his experience was no stranger to the strength and valour of the German armies. "The legions under his command had not "been tried in a war against their fellow citizens, "while, on the other hand, the Vitellians added to "their experience all the pride of victory. The "vanquished would, undoubtedly, be dissatisfied; "but to murmur discontent was all that fortune left "in their power. In the rage of civil war the com-"mon soldier renounces every honest principle; "treachery becomes habitual; and every man who "sets no value on his own life, holds the chief in "his power. Cohorts of foot, and squadrons of "horse, make a vain parade, if one intrepid villain, "for the reward promised by the adverse party, "may strike a sudden blow, and by a murder ter-"minate the war. Such was the fate of Scriboni-"anus (a) in the reign of Claudius: he was mur-

"dered by Volaginius, a common soldier, and the "highest posts in the service were the wages of "that desperate assassin. An army may be drawn "up in order of battle, and to animate them to "deeds of valour is not a difficult task: but the "private ruffian is not easily avoided."

LXXVI. Such were the reflections that presented themselves to the mind of Vespasian. His friends and the principal officers endeavoured to fix his resolution. Mucianus lent his aid, and, not content with private conferences, took a public opportunity to declare his sentiments, in effect as follows: "In "all great and arduous undertakings, the questions "of importance are, Is the enterprise for the good "of the commonwealth? Will it do honour to the "man who conducted it? And are the difficulties "such as wisdom and valour may surmount? Nor "is this all: the character of the man who advises "the measure should be duly weighed: Is he will-"ing to second the counsel, which he gives, at the "hazard of his life? What are his views? And who "is to reap the reward of victory? It is Mucianus "who now calls upon Vespasian; Mucianus invites "you to imperial dignity; for the good of the com-"monwealth he invites you; for your own glory he "exhorts you to undertake the enterprise. The "gods are with you, and under them the rest "depends upon yourself. The advice which I give "is honest: there is no flattery in it. For, let me "ask, can it be flattery to prefer you to Vitellius? "To be elected after such an emperor is rather a

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"disgrace. With whom are we to contend? Not "with the active mind of Augustus, nor with the "craft of the politic Tiberius. Nor is it against "Caligula, Claudius, or Nero, that we propose to "rise in arms. They had a kind of hereditary "right: their families were in possession of the "sovereignty.

"Even Galba could boast of an illustrious line of "ancestors, and for that reason you were willing to "acknowledge his title. But in the present juncture, "to remain inactive, and leave the commonwealth "a prey to vice and infamy, were a desertion of the "public, which nothing can excuse. Do you ima-"gine that in a state of servitude you can find your "own personal safety? Even in that case, submis-"sion would be attended with disgrace and infamy. "But ambition is not now imputed to you for the "first time: you have been long suspected, and "nothing remains but vigorous enterprise. The "sovereign power is your only refuge. Have we "forgot the fate of Corbulo (*a*)? It may be said that "the nobility of his birth (superior, it must be con-"fessed, to you as well as myself) exposed him to "danger. It may be so; but let it be remembered, "that Nero towered above Vitellius: and remember "besides, that, in the eyes of the person who lives "in fear, the man who makes himself dreaded is "illustrious. Do we doubt whether the armies can "create an emperor? Vitellius furnishes the proof; "a man, without military fame, who never served "a campaign; but owes his elevation, not to his "own merit, but to Galba's want of popularity.

"His victory was not obtained by the ability of his "generals, or the valour of his troops: Otho was "conquered by his own hand. That precipitate "action made Vitellius master of the Roman world; "and, in return, the infamy of Vitellius gives a "lustre to the name of Otho, insomuch that men "regret that unfortunate prince.

"At present, what is the conduct of our new "emperor? He disbands the legions; he disarms the "cohorts, and every day furnishes arms against "himself. The ferocity of his soldiers, whatever it "may have been, has long since evaporated in "victualling-houses and drunken revelry. After "the example of their master, the soldiers are dis-"solved in sloth and luxury. On the other hand, "you have in Syria, Judæa, and Egypt, no less "than nine legions, all high in spirit, unimpaired "by war, and not yet taught by sedition to re-"nounce all regard for discipline. You have an "army enured to the operations of war, and crowned "with victory over the enemies of their country. "You have a body of cavalry, auxiliary cohorts, a "naval armament, and powerful kings, all devoted "to your cause. Above all, you have your own "talents and your renown in arms.

LXXVII. "To myself I arrogate nothing: yet "let me not be thought inferior to Valens or Cæcina. "If Mucianus does not aspire to be your rival, you "will not therefore think meanly of him. Willing "to yield to Vespasian, I claim precedence of Vi-"tellius. Your house has been distinguished by

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"triumphal honours (*a*); you have two sons, and "one of them (*b*) is already equal to the weight of "empire. The German armies saw him give an "earnest of his future character. Were I this very "moment possessed of the sovereign power, I "should call Titus my son by adoption; with "propriety, therefore, I yield to his father. The "enterprise, to which I exhort you, will not, in its "consequences, be the same to us both. If we succeed, the honours which I may receive must flow "from you: in toil and danger I am willing to be "your rival; or, if you will (and it is the best expedient), remain here to issue your orders, and "leave me to conduct the war.

"The troops that lately conquered are by no "means formidable. In the vanquished party there "is more order and better discipline. The latter, "stung with shame and indignation, are burning "for revenge. All motives conspire to inflame their "ardour. The Vitellians, on the contrary, intoxicated with success, and elate with pride, disdain "all rules of subordination. They are undone by "luxury. Their wounds, as yet scarcely closed, will "open in a new war and bleed afresh. My dependance, it is true, must be upon your vigilance, "your economy, your wisdom; but I expect no "less advantage from the ignorance, the stupidity, "and cruel disposition of Vitellius. In a word, war "must be our choice; to us it is safer than peace, for "we have already deliberated; and he who deliberates, has rebelled."

LXXVIII. By this animating speech all who as-

sisted at the council were inspired with new confidence. They pressed round Vespasian, exhorting him to undertake the enterprise; they recalled to his memory the responses of oracles (*a*), and the predictions of men skilled in judicial astrology. Nor was Vespasian untinctured with that superstition. Even afterwards, when possessed of the supreme authority, he retained a mathematician named Seleucus, to assist his councils with his insight into future events. A number of prognostics, that occurred to him in his youth, came fresh in his mind. He recollected a cypress tree of prodigious size, on his own estate, that fell suddenly to the ground, and, on the following day, rose on the same spot, and flourished in new strength and verdure. This was considered by the interpreters of prodigies as an early prelude to future grandeur. At length, having obtained triumphal honours, together with the consular rank, when he had conducted the war against the Jews with such rapid success, the prediction seemed to be verified; and thus encouraged, he looked from that eminence to a higher elevation, and even to the imperial dignity. Between Syria and Judæa stands a mountain, known by the name of Mount Carmel (*b*), on the top of which a god is worshipped, under no other title than that of the place, and, according to ancient usage, without a temple, or even a statue. An altar is erected in the open air, and there adoration is paid to the presiding deity. On this spot Vespasian offered a sacrifice. In the midst of the ceremony, while his mind expanded with vast ideas, Basilides, the officiating priest, ex-

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amined the entrails of the victims, and, in his prophetic manner addressing himself to Vespasian, "Whatever," he said, "are your designs, whether "to build a mansion, to enlarge your estate, or increase the number of your slaves, the fates prepare for you a vast and magnificent seat, with "an immense territory, and a prodigious multitude "of men." This prediction, though involved in mysterious language, was spread abroad at the time, and now received a favourable interpretation. The story gathered strength among the populace, and in conversation with Vespasian was the favourite topic of his friends, who thought they could not enlarge too much on the subject, while the passions of the hearer stood ready to receive their advice.

LXXIX. Mucianus and Vespasian settled their plan, and took leave of each other: the former went to Antioch, the capital of Syria, and the latter to Cæsarea, the metropolis of Judæa. The first public step towards creating Vespasian emperor of Rome, was taken at Alexandria in Egypt: Tiberius Alexander, the præfect of the province, eager to show his zeal, administered the oath to the legions under his command. The ceremony was performed on the calends of July, and that day was ever after celebrated as the first of Vespasian's reign, though the army in Judæa swore fidelity on the fifth before the nones of the same month, in the presence of Vespasian himself. Titus was then on his way from Syria with dispatches from Mucianus, but the impatience of the men could not brook the delay of

waiting for the emperor's son. The whole transaction originated with the soldiers, and was hurried on with such violent impetuosity, that the business was finished without any public harangue, and even without a previous assembly of the legions.

LXXX. For this great revolution no arrangement was made; no time, no place was fixed; nor was it known who was to be the author of the measure. In this state of uncertainty, while every bosom panted with hope and fear, and the motives to the revolt, with all the dangers that might ensue, kept the army in agitation, a small number of soldiers, who mounted guard near the apartment of the general, no sooner saw him coming forth from his chamber, than with one voice they saluted him by the title of emperor. The whole body followed their example. They pressed forward in crowds, calling him by the name of Cæsar, styling him Augustus, and conferring every other title of imperial grandeur. Vespasian balanced no longer. His fears subsided, and he now resolved to pursue the road of ambition. Even in this tide of his affairs he still preserved the equal tenour of his mind, free from arrogance, and such in his manners as he had always been. The new man never appeared. The change, as was natural, dazzled his imagination; but he took time to allay the hurry of his spirits, and then calmly addressed the men in the language of a soldier. He was heard with shouts of applause. Mucianus waited for this event. On the first intelligence, he declared for Vespasian, and the soldiers with alacrity took

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the oath of fidelity to the new emperor. That business over, Mucianus went to the theatre of Antioch, where the inhabitants were used to hold their public debates. He found a crowded meeting, and was received with acclamations.

He harangued the multitude, and his speech, though in Greek, was eloquent. In that language he had acquired sufficient facility, and he possessed, besides, the happy art (*a*) of giving grace and dignity to whatever he uttered. He inflamed the passions not only of the army, but also of the province, by asserting roundly, "that it was a fixed point "with Vitellius, to quarter the German troops in "the delightful region of Syria, that, in a rich and "plentiful province, they might grow wanton in "ease and luxury; while, in exchange, the legions "of Syria were to be removed to cold encampments "in Germany, there to endure the inclemency of "the weather, and the rigours of the service." The natives of the province had lived in habits of friendship with the legions, and, by intermarriages, had formed family connections. The soldiers, on their part, were naturalized in the country, and the stations, to which they were accustomed, were, by long residence, grown as dear to them as their native home.

LXXXI. Before the ides of July, the whole province of Syria acceded to Vespasian. His party was further strengthened by Sohemus (*a*), who joined the league with the whole weight of his kingdom, and also by Antiochus, who inherited immense

treasures from his ancestors, and was, of all the kings who submitted to the authority of Rome, the most rich and powerful. Agrippa, who was then at Rome, received private expresses from the East, requesting his presence in his own country. He departed, before Vitellius had any intelligence, and by a quick navigation passed over into Asia. Queen Berenice, at that time flourishing in the bloom of youth, and no less distinguished by the graces of her person, espoused the interest of Vespasian, to whom, notwithstanding his advanced age, she had made herself agreeable by magnificent presents. The several maritime provinces, with Asia and Achaia, and the whole inland country between Pontus and the two Armenias, entered into the general confederacy; but from the governors of those provinces no forces could be expected, as they were not, at that time, strengthened by the legions stationed in Cappadocia. To settle the plan of operation, a grand council was held at Berytus (*b*). Mucianus attended. He was accompanied by a train of officers, tribunes, and centurions, and a considerable body of soldiers, selected to swell the pomp and grandeur of the scene. From Judæa the most distinguished officers went to the meeting, with the flower of their troops. An assembly, consisting of such a numerous train of horse and foot, and of eastern kings, who vied with each other in splendour and magnificence, presented a spectacle worthy of the imperial dignity.

LXXXII. The first and most important object

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was to raise recruits, and recall the veterans to the service. In all the strong and fortified cities, workmen were appointed for the forging of arms, and a mint for gold and silver coin was established at Antioch. The whole was carried on with diligence, under the direction of proper inspectors. Vespasian visited every quarter, by his presence giving spirit and animation to the cause. He encouraged the industrious by the warmth of his commendations; he roused the inactive by his example, and succeeded more by gentle methods than by the rigour of authority. To the failings of his friends he was often blind, but never to their virtues. He advanced some to the administration of provinces, and others to the rank of senators; all men of distinguished character, who rose afterwards to eminence in the state. There were others who owed their success more to their good fortune, than to their merit. Mucianus in his first harangue made incidental mention of a donative, but in guarded terms; nor did Vespasian, though engaged in a civil war, grant at any time a larger bounty than had been usual in times of profound peace. He chose that his soldiers should act on principles of honour, not from motives of bribery and corruption. To that firmness he owed the good order and regular discipline of his army. Ambassadors were sent to the courts of Parthia and Armenia, in order to settle a mutual good understanding, that, when the legions marched forward to open the campaign, the back settlements should not be exposed to sudden incursions of the enemy. Titus was to remain in Judæa (*a*), to complete the conquest of that

country, while Vespasian made himself master of the passes into Egypt. To make head against Vitellius, part of the army was deemed sufficient, under the conduct of such a general as Mucianus, with the additional terror of Vespasian's name, and the fates on his side superior to every difficulty. Letters were dispatched to the several armies, and the officers in command, with instructions to conciliate the prætorian soldiers, who had been disbanded by Vitellius, and by a promise, that all should be restored to their rank, to invite them once more into the service.

LXXXIII. Mucianus, with the appearance rather of an associate in the sovereign power, than of a general officer, advanced at the head of a light-armed detachment, never lingering in the course of his progress, that delay might not be thought a symptom of irresolution; and, on the other hand, not proceeding by rapid marches, that fame might fly before him, and spread the terror of his approach. He knew the weakness of his numbers, and that danger at a distance is always magnified. He was followed by the sixth legion, and thirteen thousand veterans, forming together a considerable army. The fleet at Pontus had orders to assemble at Byzantium. That station was thought convenient, as Mucianus had not yet determined, whether he should not avoid the territory of Mæsia, and proceed in force to Dyrrhachium; while his naval armament commanded the seas of Italy, and, by consequence, protected the coasts of Achaia and 'Asia against the attempts of Vitellius, who, in that case, would not only see

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Brundisium and Tarentum in danger, but also the whole coast of Calabria and Lucania kept in a constant alarm.

LXXXIV. Throughout the provinces nothing was heard but the din and bustle of warlike preparations. Soldiers were assembling; ships were preparing for sea, and the clink of armourers resounded in every quarter. How to raise supplies of money was the chief difficulty. Pecuniary funds, Mucianus used to say, were the sinews of war. For this purpose, in all questions touching the sum demanded, he regarded neither the truth nor the justice of the case. To be rich was to be liable to taxation, and money was to be raised in all events. Informations followed without number, and confiscations without mercy. Oppressive as these proceedings were, the necessity of the times gave a colourable excuse; but the misfortune was, the practice did not cease with the war, but continued, in the season of profound peace, to harass and oppress mankind. Vespasian, in the beginning of his reign, showed no disposition to enrich his coffers by acts of injustice; but, being corrupted afterwards by the smiles of fortune, and listening to pernicious counsels, he learned the arts of rapacity, and dared to practise them (*a*). Mucianus, from his own funds, contributed to the exigencies of the war, generous from his private purse, that he might afterwards indemnify himself at the expense of the public. The rest of the officers, following his example, advanced sums of money, but were not, in like manner, repaid with usury.

LXXXV. Vespasian, in the mean time, saw his affairs assume a promising aspect. The army in Illyricum went over to his interest. In Mæsia the third legion revolted, and drew after them the eighth, and also the seventh, called the Claudian; both devoted to Otho, though not engaged in the action at Bedriacum. Before the battle, they had advanced as far as Aquileia; and being at that place informed of a total overthrow, they assaulted the messengers who brought the news; broke to shivers the standards that displayed the name of Vitellius; plundered the military chests; and, having divided the spoil, proceeded to every act of outrage and sedition. Conscious of that offence, and dreading the punishment that might follow, they consulted together, and clearly saw, that what they had done required a pardon from Vitellius, but with Vespasian stood in the light of real merit. To strengthen their cause, they sent dispatches to the army in Pannonia, inviting them to join the league; determined, if they did not comply, to compel them by force of arms. In this juncture, Aponius Saturninus (*a*), governor of Mæsia, conceived the design of perpetrating a barbarous murder. Under colour of public zeal, but with malice festering at his heart, he dispatched a centurion to murder Tertius Julianus, who commanded the seventh legion. That officer had timely notice. He provided himself with guides, who knew the course of the country, and escaped through devious tracks as far as Mount Hæmus. From that time, he took no part in the civil war. He affected often to be on the point of setting out to

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join Vespasian; but delayed his journey, at times seeming eager to depart, then doubting, hesitating, waiting for intelligence, and, during the whole war, resolving without decision.

LXXXVI. In Pannonia, the thirteenth legion, and the seventh, called the Galbian, embraced the interest of Vespasian. They still remembered, with indignation, their defeat at Bedriacum, and the influence of Antonius Primus proved a powerful instigation. That officer, convicted of forgery (*a*) in the reign of Nero, remained obnoxious to the laws, till, among the evils that spring from civil dissension, he rose from infamy to his senatorian rank. He was advanced by Galba to the command of the seventh legion, and, according to report, offered himself to Otho, desiring, by letters, the rank of general against his benefactor. Otho paid no attention to the proposal, and, by consequence, Antonius remained inactive. In the present juncture, seeing a storm ready to burst upon Vitellius, he veered round to Vespasian, and became the grand support of the party. To his vices he united great and useful qualities: brave and valiant, he possessed uncommon eloquence; an artful and insidious enemy, he had the art of involving others in danger; in popular insurrections, a bold and turbulent leader; at once a plunderer and a prodigal, what he gained by rapine he squandered in corruption; during the calm season of peace, a pernicious citizen; in war, an officer not to be neglected.

The armies of Mæsia and Pannonia formed a junction, and drew the forces of Dalmatia into the

revolt. The consular governors of those provinces were neutral on the occasion; they took no share in the business, nor did the soldiers wait for their direction. Titus Ampius Flavianus ruled in Pannonia, and Poppæus Silvanus in Dalmatia; both rich, and advanced in years. Cornelius Fuscus, descended from illustrious ancestors, and then in the vigour of life, was, at the same time, imperial procurator. In his youth he had resigned his senatorian rank, to seek in solitude a retreat from public business. Joining afterwards with Galba, he drew forth, in support of that emperor, the strength of his own colony, and for his services obtained the post of procurator. In the present commotions, he declared for Vespasian; and, by his ardent spirit, gave life and vigour to the cause. Self-interest did not mix with the motives that determined his conduct. His pride was in the field of action. He gloried in facing danger, and despised the reward of merit. War was his passion; and, though possessed of an ample fortune, he preferred a life of enterprise to indolence and his own personal safety. He acted in concert with Antonius Primus, and both exerted themselves to kindle the flame of war in every quarter. Where they saw a discontented spirit, they were sure to increase it by infusions of their own venom. They sent dispatches to the fourteenth legion in Britain, and to the first in Spain, knowing that both had favoured the cause of Otho against Vitellius. Their letters were spread all over Gaul, and, by their joint efforts, the Roman world was roused to arms. The forces in Illyricum declared for Vespa-

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sian; and in other parts, as soon as the first blow was struck, the troops stood ready to take the field.

LXXXVII. While Vespasian and the leaders of his party were thus employed in concerting measures throughout the provinces, Vitellius, sunk in sloth, and growing every day more contemptible, advanced by slow marches towards the city of Rome. In all the villas and municipal towns through which he passed, carousing festivals were sufficient to retard a man abandoned to his pleasures. He was followed by an unwieldy multitude, not less than sixty thousand men in arms, all corrupted by a life of debauchery. The number of retainers and followers of the army was still greater, all disposed to riot and insolence, even beyond the natural bent of the vilest slaves. To these must be added a train of officers and servile courtiers, too haughty to be restrained within due bounds, even though the chief had practised the strictest discipline. The crowd was still increased by a conflux of senators and Roman knights who came from Rome to greet the prince on his way; some impelled by fear, others to pay their court, and numbers, not to be thought sullen or disaffected. All went with the current. The populace rushed forth in crowds, accompanied by an infamous band of pimps, of players, buffoons, and charioteers, by their utility in vicious pleasures all well known and dear to Vitellius. Such were the disgraceful connexions of the emperor, and he enjoyed them without a blush. To supply so vast a body with provisions, the colonies and municipal

cities were exhausted; the fruits of the earth, then ripe and fit for use, were carried off; the husbandman was plundered; and his land, as if it were an enemy's country, was laid waste and ruined.

LXXXVIII. The fierce animosity that broke out at Ticinum between the legions and the auxiliaries, was not yet extinguished. Frequent quarrels occurred, and ended always in mutual slaughter. Against the peasants and farmers they were sure to be unanimous, but agreed in nothing else. The most dreadful carnage happened within seven miles of Rome. At that place Vitellius ordered victuals, ready dressed, to be distributed among the soldiers, as if he had prepared a feast to pamper a band of gladiators. The common people, who had come in crowds from Rome, were dispersed through the camp. To divert themselves with what they thought an arch and pleasant trick, they cut away the belts of the soldiers, and with an air of humour asked, Whether they were properly accoutred? The soldiers had no taste for raillery. They retaliated with their weapons, and fell with fury on the defenceless multitude. Among the slain was the father of one of the soldiers, killed as he stood engaged in conversation with his son. The unhappy victim was soon known; and, by that incident, the further effusion of blood was prevented. Rome, in the mean time, was thrown into consternation. A number of soldiers entered the city in a tumultuous manner, and rushed forward to the forum, impatient to see the spot where Galba perished. Covered with the

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skins of savage beasts, and wielding large and massy spears, the spectacle which they exhibited to the Roman citizens was fierce and hideous. Unused to crowded streets, they had not the skill to conduct themselves amidst a vast concourse of people, but with rude force pushed against the passengers; and sometimes slipping down, or, as might happen, thrown by the pressure of the throng, they rose hastily to resent what was no more than an accident, and from abusive language proceeded sword in hand to the most violent outrages. The tribunes and centurions, at the head of their troops of cavalry, paraded the streets in a warlike manner, and spread a general panic through the city.

LXXXIX. Vitellius himself, in his military apparel, mounted on a superb horse, advanced from the Milvian bridge, while the senate and the people pressed on before him to make way for their new master. His friends however remonstrated against his making a public entry in a military style, like a conqueror marching into a city taken by storm. He conformed to their advice, and, having put on his senatorian robe, made his entry in a pacific manner. His troops followed in regular order. The eagles of four legions led the way, with an equal number of standards on each side. The colours of twelve squadrons of horse were displayed with great pomp. The infantry followed, and after them the cavalry. The procession was closed by four-and-thirty cohorts, distinguished by the arms and habits of their respective nations. The præfects of the camp, the tribunes, and

principal centurions, arrayed in white, preceded their several eagles. The rest of the officers marched at the head of their companies. The blaze of arms and rich apparel added splendour to the scene. The burnished collars of the common men, and the trappings of the horses, glittered to the eye, while the whole presented a magnificent spectacle, worthy of a better emperor. In this manner Vitellius proceeded to the capitol, and there, embracing his mother (*a*), saluted her by the name of Augusta.

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XC. On the following day, Vitellius delivered a public harangue, and spoke of himself in magnificent terms, as if he had for his audience the senate and people of a foreign city. He assumed the virtues of industry and temperance; never considering, that he was in the hearing of men who had seen his vices, and that every part of Italy, through which he had passed, had known and felt his abandoned profligacy. The populace, as usual, knowing neither truth nor falsehood, and indifferent about both, paid their tribute of flattery with noise and uproar. They pressed him to accept the title of Augustus: he declined it for some time, but the voice of the rabble prevailed. He yielded to their importunity; but his compliance was useless, and the honour was of short duration.

XCI. In a city, where superstition interpreted every thing, the first act of Vitellius, in the character of sovereign pontiff, was considered as an omen that portended mischief. He issued an edict con-

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cerning the rites and ceremonies of religion, dated the fifteenth before the calends of August, a day rendered inauspicious by two victories formerly obtained over the armies of Rome; one at Cremera (*a*), and the other at Allia. But Vitellius was unacquainted with the antiquities of his country. He knew nothing of laws, either human or divine. The same stupidity possessed his friends and his band of freedmen. The whole court seemed to be in a state of intoxication. In the assemblies held for the election of consuls (*b*), Vitellius assumed nothing above the rights of a citizen. He behaved to the candidates on a footing of equality. He attended in the theatre giving his applause as a common spectator, and in the circus, mixing with the factions of the populace. By those arts he tried to gain the the suffrages of the electors; arts, it must be acknowledged, often practised, and, when subservient to honest purposes, not to be condemned. But in a man like Vitellius, whose former life was too well known (*c*), the artifice served only to sink him into contempt.

He went frequently to the senate, even on frivolous occasions, when the subject of debate was altogether uninteresting. In that assembly Helvidius Priscus (*d*), prætor elect, happened to differ from the opinion of the emperor. Vitellius took fire in the moment, but, checking himself in time, called upon the tribunes of the people to support his authority. His friends, apprehending the consequences of a deep and smothered resentment, interposed with their good offices to soften prejudice. His an-

swer was, "Nothing new has happened: two sena-
"tors have differed in opinion: and is not that a com-
"mon occurrence? I have myself often opposed the
"sentiments of Thrasea (*q*)." The allusion to a character so truly eminent provoked a smile of contempt. Some, however, were glad to find, that, instead of the men who glittered in the sunshine of a court, he chose Thrasea for the model of true greatness.

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XCII. Publius Sabinus, the præfect of a cohort, and Julius Priscus, a centurion, were advanced from those inferior stations to the command of the prætorian guards. The former owed his elevation to the friendship of Valens, and the latter to that of Cæcina. By those two ministers, though always at variance with each other, the whole power of the state was usurped and exercised. The authority of the emperor was merely nominal. Valens and Cæcina transacted every thing. Their mutual animosity, which had been suppressed during the war, but not extinguished, broke out at Rome with redoubled violence. Their friends, with officious care, envenomed the minds of the rival statesmen, and the various factions that for ever distract the city of Rome, furnished every day new materials to inflame their jealousy. They vied with each other for pre-eminence, and by intrigue, by cabal, by their train of followers, and their crowded levees, endeavoured to manifest their superiority; while Vitellius wavered between both, and, as his inclination shifted, the balance changed alternately from one to

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the other. Their authority exceeded all bounds, and was therefore, like all ill-gotten power, uncertain and precarious. They saw the caprice that marked the character of Vitellius, one moment inflamed with anger, and the next, lavish of his favours. Neither of the ministers could be sure of fixing the affections of his master, and both despised and feared him.

Nothing, however, could satisfy their rapacity: they seized houses, gardens, and the whole wealth of the empire; while a number of illustrious men, whom Galba had recalled from banishment, were left to languish in distress and poverty. Their situation awakened no compassion in the breast of the emperor. He restored them, it is true, to their rights over their freedmen; and, by that act of justice, not only gratified the senators and other grandees of the city, but also gained the applause of the populace. But even this show of benignity was rendered useless by the low cunning that marks the genius of slavery. To evade the claims of their patrons, the freedmen concealed their wealth in obscure places, or else deposited it in the custody of the great. Some of them contrived to insinuate themselves into the imperial family, and, there growing into favour, looked down with pride and insolence on their disappointed masters.

XCIII. The multitude of soldiers was so enormous, that the camp overflowed, and poured the redundant numbers into the city; a wild disorderly band, who fixed their station in the public porticos,

and even in the temples. The men wandered about the streets of Rome, so utterly careless, that they forgot where they were quartered. Having no regular place of rendezvous, and performing no kind of duty, they gave themselves up to the dissolute manners of the city, and the practice of vices too foul to be named. In this course of life, their bodily strength decayed; the vigour of their minds was sunk in sloth, and their health entirely neglected. They chose for their abode the most vile and infamous places in the neighbourhood of the Vatican (*a*), where they contracted diseases, till an epidemic distemper began to rage amongst them. A dreadful mortality followed. The Gauls and Germans suffered most by their own imprudence. Infected with disorders, inflamed with fevers, and being naturally impatient of heat, they plunged into the Tiber, which unluckily was near at hand, and took delight in cooling their limbs; which proved a remedy as bad as the disease. The confusion, introduced by another circumstance, proved the bane of the army. It was thought advisable to raise sixteen cohorts (*b*) for the prætorian camp, and four for the city, each to consist of a thousand men. This measure, by cabals among the soldiers, and the jealousy subsisting between the two commanding officers, was the ruin of all discipline. Valens arrogated to himself the chief direction of the business. He had relieved Cæcina and his army, and on that account claimed pre-eminence. The Vitellian party had certainly gained no advantage over the enemy, till the arrival of Valens gave life

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and vigour to the cause. If the slowness of his march was at first liable to censure, the victory that followed made ample atonement, and redeemed the character of the general. The soldiers from the Lower Germany were to a man devoted to his interest. It was upon this occasion, according to the general opinion, that Cæcina first began to meditate the treachery, which he afterwards carried into execution.

XCIV. The indulgence shown by Vitellius to his principal officers was exceeded by nothing but the licentiousness of the common soldiers. Each man enrolled himself in what company he thought proper, and chose his own station in the service. Some preferred the city cohorts; and without considering merit or fitness for that employment, their wish was gratified. Others, who ought to have been selected, were suffered, at their own will and pleasure, to continue in the legions or the cavalry. This was the choice of numbers, who had impaired their constitutions, and were therefore willing to remove from the sultry heats of Italy to a more temperate climate. By these arrangements, the main strength of the legions and the cavalry was drafted away. A motley body of twenty thousand men was formed out of the whole army, without choice or judgment. The consequence was, that the camp retained neither the strength nor the beauty of military system.

Vitellius thought fit to harangue the soldiers. In the midst of his speech, a clamour broke out,

demanding the execution of Asiaticus, and of Flavius, and Rufinus, who had been commanders in Gaul, and listed on the side of Vindex. Nor did Vitellius endeavour to appease the tumult. From his sluggish temper nothing like firmness or authority could be expected. He knew that the time for discharging the promised donative was drawing near, and having no funds to answer the expectation of the soldiers, he thought it his best policy to atone by mean compliances for that deficiency. In order, however, to raise supplies, a tax was imposed on all the freedmen of former emperors, to be collected in proportion to the number of their slaves. To squander with wild profusion, was the only use of money known to Vitellius. He built a set of stables for the charioteers, and kept in the circus a constant spectacle of gladiators and wild beasts; in this manner dissipating with prodigality, as if his treasury overflowed with riches.

XCV. Cæcina and Valens resolved to celebrate the birthday (*a*) of their master with all demonstrations of joy. They gave a show of gladiators in every quarter of the city, with a display of pomp and magnificence beyond all example. Vitellius resolved to solemnize the obsequies of Nero. He erected altars to that emperor in the Field of Mars. The sight was highly pleasing to the vile and profligate, but gave disgust to all who had any principle, or a spark of remaining virtue. Victims were slain, fires were kindled, and the torch was carried by the Augustan priests; an order dedicated by

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Tiberius to the Julian family, in imitation of that consecrated by Romulus to Tatius (*b*) the Sabine king. From the victory at Bedriacum four months had not elapsed; and yet, in that short time, Asiaticus, the manumitted slave of the emperor, had already accumulated riches nothing short of the Polycleti, the Patrobii, and others of the servile race, whose names have been given up to the execration of mankind. The court of Vitellius was not the scene of honest emulation. No man endeavoured to rise by his virtue or his talents. The road to preferment was open to vice and luxury. He who entertained the prince in the gayest manner, and with sumptuous banquets glutted that craving appetite, was sure to be in favour. To enjoy the present hour, and seize with avidity the pleasures near at hand, was the whole occupation of Vitellius. Future events and distant consequences gave him no solicitude. He is said to have dissipated in a few months no less than nine millions of sesterces. Such was the sad condition of Rome; a great yet miserable city, obliged, in the space of one year, to groan under the yoke of an Otho and a Vitellius; and still worse, to suffer the depredations of Vinius, Valens, Icelus, and Asiaticus, till the people were at length transferred, like a herd of slaves, to Mucianus and Marcellus (*c*). New men succeeded, but the measures were still the same.

XCVI. The first intelligence of a revolt, that reached the ear of Vitellius, was that of the third legion in Illyricum. The account was sent by Apo-

nius Saturninus, before that officer had formed his resolution to join Vespasian. His dispatches, made up in the first tumult of surprise, did not state the whole of the mischief. The creatures of the court, to sooth their master, endeavoured to palliate every circumstance. They called it the seditious spirit of one legion only, while every other army preserved unshaken fidelity, and there was, therefore, no danger to be apprehended. Vitellius addressed the soldiers to the same effect. He added that the prætorians, lately disbanded, were the authors of false reports, fabricated with a seditious intent to disturb the public peace: but still there was no reason to fear a civil war. He made no mention of Vespasian; and, to suppress all talk among the populace, a band of soldiers had orders to parade the streets. The policy, however, did not answer the end. Silence was commanded, and the people talked with greater freedom.

XCVII. Dispatches were, notwithstanding, sent to Germany, to Spain, and Britain, for a supply of men; but, as Vitellius wished to conceal the urgency of his affairs, his orders were not decisive, and, by consequence, the governors of the provinces were in no haste to obey. Hordeonius Flaccus (*a*), who commanded on the banks of the Rhine, having reason to fear the designs of the Batavians, expected to have a war upon his hands (*b*), and therefore thought it prudent not to diminish his force. In Britain, Vectius Bolanus was kept in a constant alarm by the restless genius of the natives. At the

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same time, those two officers began to balance between Vitellius and Vespasian. Spain showed no alacrity. That country, left without a governor of proconsular authority, was under the direction of three commanders of legions, all equal in rank, and all willing, as long as Vitellius flourished in prosperity, to hold their employments under him, but in the day of distress ready to abandon his cause. Affairs in Africa wore a better aspect. The legion and the cohorts, which had been raised in that country by Cledius Macer, and disbanded by Galba, were again embodied by order of Vitellius, and the young men of the nation went in crowds to be enrolled in the service. The fact was, Vitellius and Vespasian had been proconsuls in Africa: the former governed with moderation, and was remembered with gratitude; the latter incurred the hatred of the people (*o*). From past transactions, the province and the allies in the neighbourhood formed their idea of what they had to expect under the reign of either of them: but the event convinced them of their error.

XCVIII. The exertions in Africa were at first carried on with vigour. Valerius Festus, the governor of the province, co-operated with the zeal of the people, but in a short time began to waver between the contending parties. In his letters and public edicts he stood firm for Vitellius; his secret correspondence favoured Vespasian; and, by this duplicity, he hoped, in the end, to make terms for himself with the conqueror. In Rhætia and the ad-

jacent parts of Gaul, certain emissaries, employed by Vespasian's friends, were seized with letters and proclamations in their possession. They were sent to Vitellius, and by his order put to death. Others, by their own address, or the protection of their friends, escaped detection. The consequence was, that the measures adopted by Vitellius were known to the opposite party, while those of Vespasian remained an impenetrable secret. The stupidity of Vitellius gave the enemy this advantage in the outset. Afterwards, when the passes over the Pannonian Alps (*a*) were secured by a chain of posts, all intelligence by land was entirely cut off; and by sea, the Etesian winds, that favoured the navigation to the east, were adverse to the homeward voyage.

XCIX. Vitellius, finding that the advanced parties of the enemy had made an irruption into Italy, and news big with danger arriving from every quarter, gave orders to his generals to take the field without delay. Cæcina undertook the command, while Valens, who was just risen from a sick bed, remained at Rome for the recovery of his health. The German forces, marching out of the city, exhibited an appearance very different from the ferocity of their first approach. Their strength wasted; their vigour of mind depressed; their numbers thinned; their horses slow and lifeless; their arms an incumbrance; and the men, drooping under the heat of the season, overpowered by the dust, and unable to endure the weather, presented to all who beheld their march, a languid, spiritless, and dejected army;

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averse from labour, and, for that reason, ready to revolt.

The character of Cæcina must be taken into the account. Ambition was his ruling passion: sloth and indolence, the effect of success and luxury, were vices newly contracted; or, perhaps meditating even then a stroke of perfidy, it was part of his plan to countenance whatever tended to impair the vigour of the army. The revolt of this commander has been ascribed by various writers to Flavius Sabinus, who had the address, by the means of Rubrius Gallus, his intermediate agent, to seduce Cæcina to the interest of his brother, under positive assurances that the terms stipulated between them would be ratified by Vespasian. The jealousy subsisting between Cæcina and Valens had its effect on the mind of an aspiring chief, who saw his rival in the highest credit with Vitellius, and was, therefore, easily persuaded to merit the protection of a new prince.

C. Cæcina took leave of Vitellius, and received at parting the highest marks of distinction. He sent forward a detachment of the cavalry to take possession of Cremona. The veterans of the fourteenth (*a*) and sixteenth legions followed, and after them the fifth and twenty-second. The rear was closed by the twenty-first, distinguished by the name of RAPAX, and the first legion called the ITALIC, with the vexillaries of three British legions, and the flower of the auxiliary forces. Cæcina was no sooner set out on his expedition, than Valens sent directions to the army, which he had conducted into Italy, to wait

for his arrival, according to the plan which, he said, was settled between himself and Cæcina. But the latter, being on the spot, and, by consequence, having greater weight and influence, assured the men that, upon mature deliberation, that whole plan had been altered, to the end that they might meet the first impression of the enemy with the united vigour of the army. Having thus secured in his own hands the whole command, he ordered the legions to proceed by rapid marches to Cremona, while a large detachment went forward to Hostilia (*b*). He himself turned off towards Ravenna, under a pretence of conferring with the officers of the fleet, but, in fact, with a design to make the best of his way to the city of Pavia, judging that place the fittest for a treasonable convention. He there met Lucilius Bassus, a man, who, from a squadron of horse, had been raised by Vitellius to the command of two fleets, one at Ravenna, and the other at Misenum. Not content with that sudden rise, he thought himself entitled to be made præfect of the prætorian guards. That disappointment he considered as an injury, and therefore resolved to gratify his unjust resentment by a stroke of perfidy. For this purpose he joined Cæcina. Which seduced the other cannot now be known. Two evil minds might form the same black design, and having formed it, they would find in congenial qualities a secret impulse to each other.

CI. In the memoirs of various authors who composed their work during the reign of the Flavian family (*a*), we are told that Cæcina acted on the

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most upright principles, with a view to the public tranquillity, and the good of his country. But this seems to be the language of flattery to the reigning prince. The conduct of Cæcina may be fairly traced to other motives. The natural inconstancy of the man, and, after his treachery to Galba, the confirmed habit of betraying without a blush, would be sufficient to remove all doubt, if we had not to add to the account his disappointed ambition, and the corrosions of envy, with which he saw himself eclipsed by the superior genius of his rival. Rather than be supplanted by others in the esteem of Vitellius, the ruin of that emperor was his remedy.

Having settled his plan of operations with Bassus, Cæcina once more put himself at the head of the legions, and by various artifices began to undermine the interest of Vitellius, and wean the centurions and soldiers from all affection for his person. Bassus, on his part was equally active, and met with little difficulty. The officers and men belonging to the fleet remembered that they had lately distinguished themselves in the cause of Otho, and were therefore ready to declare against the enemy who had triumphed over him.

END OF BOOK II.

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BOOK III.

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These transactions passed in a few months.

Year of Rome,	Of Christ,	Consuls for a short time.
822	69	Fabius Valens, Alienus Cæcina. Rosius Regulus, Cæcilius Simplex, Quinctius Atticus.

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BOOK III.

I. MEANWHILE, the leaders of Vespasian's party, acting in concert, and with strict fidelity, laid the plan of their operations with better success. They met at Pætovio (*a*), the winter quarters of the thirteenth legion, and there held a council of war. The question on which they deliberated was, which was most advisable, to secure the passes over the Pannonian Alps, and there make halt till the forces behind came up to their support, or to push forward with vigour, and penetrate at once into Italy. Some proposed dilatory measures, in order to pursue the campaign with their united force. They founded their opinion on the following reason: "The fame and valour of the German "legions were greatly to be dreaded. Vitellius had "been reinforced by the flower of the army in "Britain. The legions on the side of Vespasian

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"were inferior in number, and had been lately con-
"quered. They talked, indeed, with ferocity; but
"the minds of the vanquished are always depressed.
"If the Alps were guarded by a chain of posts,
"Mucianus would have time to come up with the
"strength of the East, and Vespasian, in the mean
"time, would remain master of the seas. He had
"powerful fleets, and the provinces espoused his
"cause. With these resources he might, if neces-
"sary, prepare his measures for a second war. The
"advantages, therefore, which might arise from
"delay, were sufficiently evident; new succours
"would arrive, and their present force, in the mean
"time, would not be exposed to the chance of
"war."

II. This reasoning was opposed by Antonius Primus, the grand promoter of the confederacy. "Activity," he said, "will give every advantage to "Vespasian, and prove the ruin of Vitellius and his "party. The conquerors have gained nothing by "their victory; on the contrary, their vigour is "melted down in sloth and luxury. They are neither "inured to a regular camp, nor trained to arms, "nor kept in exercise by military duty. Dispersed "through the municipal towns of Italy, they have "lost their martial spirit, and now are soldiers to "their landlords only. Their taste of pleasure is a "new acquirement, and they enjoy it with the same "spirit that formerly incited them to the most "ferocious deeds. The circus, the theatre, and the "delights of Rome have sunk their vigour, and

"disease has rendered them unfit for military duty. "Allow them time, and they will recruit their "strength. The very idea of war will animate their "drooping courage. Their resources are great; "Germany is near at hand, and from that hive new "swarms may issue forth; Britain is separated by a "narrow channel; Spain and Gaul lie contiguous, "and from both they may draw supplies of men, "and horses, and money. All Italy is theirs, and "the wealth of Rome is at their mercy. Should "they resolve to wage a distant war, they have two "fleets, and the Illyrian sea lies open to their opera-"tions. In that case, what will be the use of posts "and stations on the Pannonian Alps? and what the "advantage of drawing the war into length? Wait "for another campaign; and where, in the mean "time, are we to find supplies of money and pro-"visions? To act with vigour is our best, our only "expedient. The legions of Pannonia were sur-"prised, not conquered: they are now breathing "revenge; they wish for nothing so much as an "opportunity to signalize their valour in the field. "The forces of Mæsia (*a*) have neither wasted "their strength, nor have they been humbled by a "defeat. If the strength on both sides is to be "estimated by the number of the men, and not of "the legions, the superiority is on the side of Ves-"pasian. In his army no corruption, no licentious-"ness. Even former misfortunes are now of use; "the men have seen their error, and the sense of "shame has established discipline and good order. "In the last action the cavalry suffered no disgrace:

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"on the contrary, though the event of the day was "adverse, they broke through the ranks of the "enemy. And if two squadrons of horse, one from "Pannonia, and the other from Mæsia, could bear "down all before them, what may not be expected "from the joint force of sixteen squadrons, whose "banners glitter in the service of Vespasian? Their "impetuosity in the first onset, their uproar, the "clangour of their arms, and the clouds of dust "raised by their horses' hoofs, will confound, dis-"tract, and overwhelm a feeble enemy, who have "lost their warlike spirit. What I advise, I am "willing to execute. Those who have not taken a "decided resolution, may, if they will, remain be-"hind. Let them detain their legions. Give me the "light-armed cohorts: I ask no more. With those "gallant soldiers my intention is to force a passage "into Italy. The Vitellians will shrink from the "attack; and when you hear the tidings, you will "then pursue the footsteps of Antonius, glad to "follow where victory leads the way."

III. Such was the reasoning of this active partisan. He delivered the whole with a spirit that convinced the prudent, and roused the timorous. His eyes flashed fire; his voice expanded, that the centurions and soldiers, who had pressed into the council-room, might hear the sentiments of a brave and experienced officer. All were carried away by a torrent of eloquence. The crowd extolled his courage, and despised the other officers for their want of spirit. He, and he alone, was the man of

enterprise, the general worthy of the command. In a former council of war, where Vespasian's letters were read to the whole meeting, Antonius had announced his character, and made a deep impression on the minds of the soldiers. Upon that occasion, he entered with warmth into the debate, disdaining the little policy of using equivocal terms, which might afterwards receive the construction that suited the views of the speaker. Intrepid and decisive he laid himself open at once. He spoke with that frank and generous ardour, which is always sure to captivate the affections of the army. The soldiers admired a general, whom they saw ready to share every danger, and to be their partner in the rashness or the glory of the enterprise.

IV. The person, who, in the opinion of the common men, filled the second place, was Cornelius Fuscus, the procurator of the province. That officer, by his freedom of speech, had already pledged himself to the cause: if it miscarried, his bold and forward censure of Vitellius left him no room to retreat. Titus Ampius Flavianus stood in a very different light. His natural slowness, rendered still more languid by the increase of years, drew upon him the suspicion of the soldiers, who knew that he was (*a*) allied to Vitellius. In the beginning of the present commotions, he fled from his post, to avoid the storm then gathering round him, and, shortly afterwards, returned to the province, with intent, as was generally imagined, to execute some treacherous design. He had made his escape into Italy; but,

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when he heard that the legions were in motion, he returned to Pannonia, and resumed his authority, fond of innovation, and willing to hazard himself in the troubles of a civil war. To this last step he was incited by the advice of Cornelius Fuscus, who wished to see him in Pannonia; not with a view of deriving advantage from his talents, but because the name of a consular officer was of moment, and, in the first efforts of a party not yet established, a person of that rank might give credit and lustre to the cause.

V. The march into Italy being the measure adopted, in order to secure the passes over the mountains, letters were sent to Aponius Saturninus (*a*), ordering him to advance, by rapid marches, with his army from Mæsia. At the same time, that the provinces thus evacuated might not lie open to the incursions of Barbarians on the borders, the chiefs of the Iazyges (*b*), a people of Sarmatia, were engaged to co-operate with the Roman army. The new allies offered to bring into the field a body of the natives, and also their cavalry, in which consists the strength of the country. Their service, however, was not accepted, lest a number of foreign mercenaries should take advantage of the distractions that convulsed the empire, or for better pay desert to the opposite party. The Suevian nation had, at all times, given proof of their steady attachment to the interest of Rome; and no doubt being entertained of their fidelity, their two kings, Sido and Italicus (*c*), were admitted into the league. On the confines

of Rhætia, where Portius Septimius, the procurator of the province, remained firm to Vitellius, a range of posts was stationed to bridle that part of the country. With this view Sextilius Felix was sent forward, at the head of a squadron of horse called AURIANA (*d*), eight cohorts, and the militia of Noricum, with orders to line the banks of the river Ænus (*e*), which divides Rhætia from Noricum. Those two commanders were content to act on the defensive, and no engagement followed. The fate of empire was elsewhere decided.

VI. Antonius Primus began his march, at the head of a body of vexillaries drafted from the cohorts, and a detachment of the cavalry. He pushed forward with eager speed to the invasion of Italy, accompanied by Arrius Varus, an officer of distinguished valour, who had served under Corbulo (*a*) in Armenia, and from the talents and brilliant success of that applauded commander derived all his reputation. In secret cabals with Nero he is said to have whispered away the character of his general, converting into crimes the eminent virtues of that great officer. He rose to the rank of principal centurion; but his sudden advancement, obtained as it was by treacherous arts, proved his ruin in the end. Antonius, in conjunction with this commander, took possession of Aquileia. The adjacent towns submitted with alacrity. At Opitergium (*b*) and Altinum they were received with demonstrations of joy. At the last of those places a garrison was left to check the operations of the fleet stationed at Ravenna,

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which was not then known to have revolted. The cities of Patavium and Ateste (*c*) made a voluntary surrender. The two generals received intelligence that three Vitellian cohorts, with the squadron of horse called Scriboniana, had taken post at Forum Allienum (*d*), and, after throwing up a bridge, loitered away the time in careless security. The opportunity seemed fair to attack them by surprise. At the dawn of day the place was taken by storm, before the enemy had time to get under arms. It had been previously issued out in orders, that, after a moderate slaughter, the assailants should give quarter to the rest, and by the terror of their arms force them to join Vespasian's party. Numbers surrendered at discretion; but the greater part broke down the bridge, and saved themselves by flight.

VII. The fame of a victory, obtained in the beginning of the war, made an impression favourable to Vespasian's cause. In a short time after, two legions, namely, the seventh, called GALBIANA, and the thirteenth, named GEMINA (*a*), under the command of Vedius Aquila, arrived at Padua. A few days were spent at that place to refresh the men. In that interval, Minucius Justus, præfect of the camp to the seventh legion, enforcing his orders with more severity than was consistent with the nature of a civil war, provoked the fury of the soldiers. He was ordered to join Vespasian, and by that artifice he saved his life. Antonius, at this time, had the judgment to do a public act, which had been long desired, and, by consequence, gave uni-

versal satisfaction. He ordered the statues of Galba, which the rage of civil discord had levelled to the ground, to be again set up in all the municipal towns. By doing honour to the memory of Galba (*b*), and reviving the hopes of a ruined party, Antonius had no doubt but he should greatly serve the cause in which he was embarked.

VIII. Where to fix the seat of war was now a question of moment. Verona was thought the most eligible spot. In that open champaign country (*a*), the cavalry, in which the strength of the army consisted, would have ample space; and the glory of wresting out of the hands of Vitellius a colony so strong and flourishing, would draw after it the greatest advantages. The army pushed forward with rapidity, and, in their march, became masters of Vicetia (*b*); a city in itself of small importance, but, being the birth-place of Cæcina, the acquisition was deemed a triumph over the adverse general. The reduction of Verona brought an accession of wealth, and gave an example to other cities. Moreover, as it lies between Rhætia and the Julian Alps (*c*), it was a post of importance, where an army in force might command the pass into Italy, and render it impervious to the German armies. Of these operations Vespasian had no knowledge; on the contrary, his orders were, that the troops should halt at Aquileia, and push the war no further till Mucianus arrived with all his force. Vespasian explained the motives that determined his councils. While he was master of Ægypt, the granary of

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Italy (*d*), and commanded, besides, the revenues of the most opulent provinces, the Vitellian army, for want of pay and provisions, might be forced to capitulate. Mucianus, in all his letters, recommended the same measure; adding, that a victory obtained without blood, and without causing a tear to be shed, would be the truest glory. But those reasons were specious and ostensible only: avarice of fame was his motive; he wished to engross the whole honour of the war. But the fact was, Vespasian and his general planned their operations in a distant part of the world, and before their orders could arrive the blow was struck.

IX. Antonius was not of a temper to remain inactive. He resolved to attempt the stations of the enemy. His attack was sudden; and, after trying in a slight engagement the strength and disposition of the Vitellians, he thought proper to desist. Both parties retired with equal success. In a short time afterwards Cæcina pitched his camp in the neighbourhood of Verona, between the village of Hostilia (*a*) and the morass on the banks of the river Tartarus (*b*). This post afforded him every advantage: he had the river in his rear, and the fens on each flank. He wanted nothing but fidelity. Beyond all question he had it in his power, with the whole strength of his army, to crush two legions under Antonius, who had not yet been joined by the Mæsian army, or, at least, he might have forced them by a shameful flight to evacuate Italy. But he trifled away the time with specious delays, and,

losing all his opportunities, treacherously sacrificed the most precious moments of the war. He carried on a correspondence with Antonius, content by his letters to debate with a man whom he ought to have conquered. He continued to temporise, till by secret negociations he settled the price of perfidy.

During this suspense, Aponius Saturninus arrived at Verona with the seventh legion, called the CLAUDIAN, under the command of Vipstanius Messala, then in the rank of tribune; a man of illustrious birth, and of a character worthy of his ancestors: of all who entered into that war, the only person who carried with him fair and honourable motives. With this reinforcement the army amounted to no more than three legions; and yet to that inferior force (*c*) Cæcina thought proper to dispatch a letter, condemning the rashness of men, who, after their late defeat, presumed again to try the fortune of the field. He extolled the bravery of the German soldiers, making the slightest mention of Vitellius, but with regard to Vespasian not hazarding one disrespectful word. Nor was there in the whole tenour of his letter a single expression that tended either to impress the enemy with fear, or to induce them to revolt. Vespasian's generals returned an answer in a style of magnanimity. They entered into no defence of their former conduct; they bestowed the highest praise on Vespasian: relying on the goodness of their cause, they spoke with confidence of the event, and without reserve declaimed against Vitellius in the style of men who had nothing to fear. To the tribunes and centurions who had been rewarded by

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Vitellius, they promised a continuance of the same favours, and in explicit terms invited Cæcina to join their party. The letters of that officer, and the several answers, were read, by order of Antonius, in the hearing of the army. The soldiers observed the caution with which Cæcina spoke of Vespasian, and the undisguised contempt of Vitellius expressed by the Flavian generals. From that circumstance they derived new alacrity, and thorough confidence in their cause.

X. Antonius, reinforced by the arrival of two legions, namely, the third, commanded by Dillius Aponianus, and the eighth, by Numisius Lupus, resolved to make a display of his strength, and inclose Verona with lines of circumvallation. An accident interrupted the progress of the works. It happened that the Galbian legion was employed in an advanced part of the trenches, fronting the enemy. They perceived at a distance a body of cavalry, and, though in fact they were friends, mistook them for a party of the Vitellians. Thinking themselves betrayed, they seized their arms, and, in the hurry of surprise, charged Ampius Flavianus (*a*) as the author of the plot. They had no kind of proof; but they hated the man, and hatred was sufficient evidence of his guilt. They roared and clamoured for his blood; and nothing less, they said, would satisfy their indignation. He was the kinsman of Vitellius, the betrayer of Otho, and he had embezzled the donative intended for the soldiers. These reproaches were loud and violent. Flavianus endeavoured to

obtain a hearing; he stretched forth his hands; he prostrated himself before them, rent his garments, beat his breast, and with tears and groans endeavoured to mitigate resentment. The men despised him in that abject condition, and from his distress inferred a confession of guilt.

Aponius Saturninus attempted to speak, but was overpowered by a general clamour. The rest of the officers were silenced in like manner. Antonius was the only person who could make himself heard. To his authority and eloquence he united the art of managing the temper of the soldiers. Their rage, however, did not subside: from foul abuse they proceeded to violence, and even began to brandish their weapons. The general ordered Flavianus to be seized, and loaded with irons. This was understood to be no more than a subterfuge to elude the vengeance of the soldiers, who rushed to the tribunal, and, having dispersed the guards, threatened immediate execution. Antonius opposed his bosom to their fury, and, drawing his sword, declared aloud that he would fall by their weapons or his own. He looked around, invoking the assistance of all, whom he either knew, or saw distinguished by any kind of military decoration; he directed his eyes to the eagles and standards, those gods of the camp, and in a pathetic strain implored them to transfuse that frantic spirit into the breasts of the enemy (*b*). At length the sedition began to abate, and day closing apace, the men withdrew to their tents. In the course of the night, Flavianus left the camp. He had not travelled far, when he received letters (*c*) from Vespasian, in

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a style that left him no room to fear the displeasure of the prince.

XI. The phrensy of the soldiers did not stop here. It spread as it were by contagion, and fell with violence on Aponius Saturninus, who had brought with him the Mæsian forces. A letter to Vitellius had been intercepted, and he was supposed to be the author. The story was believed, and all were fired with resentment. The tumult did not, as before, begin when the soldiers were fatigued with the labours of the day; it broke out at noon, when they were in full vigour, and for that reason more to be dreaded. How unlike the spirit of ancient times! Under the old republic, a generous emulation in virtue and heroic valour was the only struggle in a Roman camp: but now to be the foremost in sedition was the grand effort of a depraved and licentious soldiery. The fury that showed itself against Flavianus was inflamed to madness against Saturninus. The Mæsian legions made it a merit with the Pannonian army, that, in the late insurrection, they had lent their assistance; and, in return, the Pannonians joined their friends, willing to encourage a mutiny, by which they hoped that their own guilt would be justified, or at least excused. With this spirit all were ready to repeat their crime. They rushed to the gardens, where Saturninus was walking for recreation. Antonius opposed the mutineers; Messala and Aponianus exerted their best endeavours, but without effect. If Saturninus had not luckily found a lurking-place,

in the furnace of a bath not then in use; there is no doubt but he must have fallen a sacrifice. As soon as an opportunity offered, he dismissed his liotors, and made the best of his way to Padua. There being now no officer of consular rank left with the army, the whole command devolved upon Antonius. The soldiers were willing to submit to his authority. The other officers declined all competition. But if the general did not, by secret practices, excite the two seditions, that he alone might gain the honour of the war without a rival, the suspicion, which numbers entertained, was injurious to his character.

XII. During these transactions, the camp of Vitellius was not free from disturbance. The discord there did not originate from suspicions entertained by the soldiers, but had its source in the perfidy of the general officers. Lucilius Bassus (*a*), who commanded the fleet at Ravenna, had already drawn over to his party a number of the marines, all natives of Dalmatia and Pannonia, and, those provinces having all already declared for Vespasian, ready to follow the example of their countrymen. The dead of night was chosen as the fit time for carrying their treasonable designs into execution. At that hour, when all was hushed in sleep, the conspirators agreed to meet in the quarter where the colours were deposited. Bassus remained in his own house, conscious of his treachery, or, perhaps, alarmed for himself, and willing to wait the issue. The masters of the galleys began the revolt. They seized the

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images of Vitellius, and put to the sword all who attempted to resist. The common herd, with their usual love of innovation, went over to Vespasian. Bassus, in that moment, ventured to appear, avowing himself the author of the treason. The fleet immediately chose another commander. Cornelius Fuscus was the person appointed. That officer soon appeared at Ravenna, and took upon him his new commission. By his order, Bassus, under a proper guard, but honourably treated, was obliged to embark for Atria (*b*). At that place he was thrown into fetters by Mennius Rufinus, who commanded the garrison; but he was soon released at the desire of Hormus, one of Vespasian's freedmen, who, it seems, had the presumption to figure away among the general officers.

XIII. The defection of the fleet was no sooner known, than Cæcina, having removed out of the way the best part of his army under various pretexts of military duty, called a meeting of the principal centurions, and a select party of soldiers, in the place assigned for the eagles (*a*), the most private part of the camp. He there opened his mind without reserve. He expatiated in praise of Vespasian, and painted forth in glaring colours the strength of the combination formed in his favour. The fleet, he said, had revolted, and, by consequence, Italy would be distressed for provisions. Spain and both the Gauls were up in arms; at Rome the minds of men were wavering, and a storm was ready to burst upon Vitellius. The men whom Antonius had engaged

in the plot threw off the mask, and the rest, incited by their example, took the oath of fidelity to Vespasian. The images of Vitellius were torn from the ensigns, and dispatches were sent off with intelligence to the adverse army. This transaction was no sooner known in Cæcina's camp, than the rest of the soldiers rushed in a body to the quarter of the eagles and standards. They saw the name of Vespasian displayed to view, and the images of Vitellius scattered about in fragments. A deep and sullen silence followed. A general uproar soon broke out, and with one voice the men exclaimed, "Where is now the glory of the German armies? "Without hazarding a battle, and without a wound, "we must lay down our arms, and deliver ourselves "to the enemy bound in chains. And to what "enemy? To the legions lately vanquished by "superior valour; nay, to a part of those legions; "for the strength and bulwark of Otho's forces, the "first and fourteenth, are not with the army. And "is this the issue of our fame in arms, and of our "late glorious victory? Did so many brave and "gallant soldiers distinguish themselves by their "bravery in the field, that they might now, like a "drove of slaves, be delivered up to Antonius, a "man formerly banished for his crimes (*b*)? The "fleet, we are told, has revolted: and shall eight "legions be transferred as an appendage to their "treachery? Bassus, it seems, will have it so; and "such is the pleasure of Cæcina. They have despoiled the prince of his houses, his gardens, and "his treasure, and they want now to rob him of his

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"soldiers; of soldiers, who, with swords in their "hands, and in full possession of their strength and "vigour, are to yield without an engagement, and "bear the scorn and mockery of Vespasian and his "party. To such as may hereafter desire an account "of the battles we have fought, and the dangers "which we have encountered, what answer shall "we make?"

XIV. Such were the complaints, and such the language, not of individuals only, but of the whole body. Each man spoke his feelings, and all concurred in one general uproar. The fifth legion took the lead; they restored the images of Vitellius; they seized Cæcina, and loaded him with fetters. Fabius Fabullus, commander of the fifth legion, and Cassius Longus, the præfect of the camp, were declared commanders in chief. A party of marines belonging to three light galleys fell into the hands of the enraged soldiery, and, though ignorant of all that passed, and innocent of the late defection, were to a man put to the sword. After this exploit, the discontented troops broke up their camp, and, having demolished the bridge, marched back to Hostilia, and thence to Cremona, where the first legion, called ITALICA, and the one-and-twentieth, known by the name of RAPAX, had been stationed by Cæcina.

XV. Apprised of these transactions, Antonius resolved, while the enemy was still distracted, and dispersed at different stations, not to let the war languish till the Vitellians began to act with unani-

mity, and the generals recovered their authority. He knew that Valens had set out from Rome, and Cæcina's treachery, he had reason to think, would make him push forward with expedition to join the army. The zeal of Valens for the cause in which he embarked, was sufficiently distinguished, and he was known to be an officer of experience. Besides this, a large body of Germans was expected to force their way through Rhætia into Italy, and Vitellius had sent for succours into Britain, Gaul, and Spain; a formidable preparation, if Antonius had not determined to strike a decisive blow. He moved with his whole army from Verona, and in two days arrived at Bedriacum. On the following morning he set the legions to work at the entrenchments, and, under colour of foraging, but in truth to give the men a relish for plunder, sent the auxiliary cohorts to ravage the plains near Cremona. To support them in this expedition, he himself, at the head of four thousand horse, advanced eight miles beyond Bedriacum; while his scouts took a wider range, to discover the motions of the enemy.

XVI. About the fifth hour of the day, a soldier, at full speed, brought intelligence that the enemy was approaching. He had seen their advanced parties, and distinctly heard the bustle of the whole army. Antonius began to prepare for action. While he was deliberating, Arrius Varus, eager to distinguish himself, advanced at the head of a party of horse, and put the front line of the Vitellians to the rout. The slaughter was inconsiderable. A party of

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the enemy advanced to support the broken ranks, and changed the fortune of the field. Varus and his men were obliged to give ground, and they, who had pursued with eagerness, were now in the rear of the retreat. In this rash action Antonius had no share. He foresaw the consequence, and now exerted himself to prevent further mischief. Having exhorted his men, he ordered the cavalry to open their ranks, and draw off in two divisions towards the flanks of the army, in order to leave a void space for the reception of Varus and his routed party. The legions were called out, and, in the country round, the signal was given to the foraging cohorts to abandon their booty, and repair forthwith to the field of battle. Varus, in the mean time, returned to the main body, covered with dismay, and by his appearance diffusing terror through the ranks. He and his men had retreated with precipitation; the able and the wounded in one promiscuous panic fled before the enemy, all in wild confusion, and, on a narrow causey, obstructing one another.

XVII. Antonius, in this pressing exigence, omitted nothing that could be expected from a commander of experience and undaunted valour. He rallied the broken ranks; where the men were giving way, by his presence he revived their drooping courage; wherever there was either danger, or an advantage to be taken, he was ready on the spot, with his directions, with his voice, with his sword; inspiring courage, conspicuous in every part of the field, and manifest to the enemy. His courage rose to

the highest pitch, and transported him beyond himself. In a noble fit of martial ardour he transfixed with his spear a standard-bearer in the act of flying, and, instantly seizing the colours, advanced against the enemy. This bold exertion had its effect. A party of the cavalry, in number about a hundred, felt the disgrace of deserting their general, and returned to the charge. The nature of the ground favoured Antonius. The causey was narrowest in that part, and the bridge over the river (*a*) that flowed in the rear being broken down, the men could not pursue their flight where the banks were steep, and the fordable places were unknown. By this restraint, or by some turn of fortune, the battle was restored. The soldiers made a stand, and, having recovered their ranks, received the Vitellians, who rushed on with eagerness, but without order, and in a short time were put to the rout. Antonius pressed on the rear of such as fled, and all who resisted died on the spot. The rest of Vespasian's army acted as the impulse of individuals prompted; they secured their prisoners, they seized the arms and horses of the slain, and made the field resound with shouts of victory. The runaways, who had dispersed themselves in various quarters, heard the joyful acclamations of their comrades, and, to claim part of the glory, hurried back to the scene of action.

XVIII. At the distance of four miles from Cremona, the banners of the two legions called Rapax (*a*) and Italica appeared in view. The

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advantage gained by the Vitellian cavalry, in the beginning of the day, was their motive for advancing so far; but, seeing a reverse of fortune, they neither opened their ranks to receive their flying friends, nor dared to attack an enemy at that time well nigh exhausted by the labours of the day. In the hour of prosperity they despised their general officers, and in their distress began to feel that they wanted an able commander. While they stood at gaze, irresolute, and covered with consternation, the cavalry of Antonius attacked them with impetuous fury. Vipstanius Messala followed to support the ranks, at the head of the Mæsian auxiliaries, who, though they had made a long march, were so well inured to discipline, that they were deemed nothing inferior to the legionary soldiers. The foot and cavalry, acting with united vigour, bore down all opposition. The Vitellians hoped to find within the walls of Cremona a safe shelter from the rage of a pursuing enemy, and for that reason were less inclined to maintain the conflict.

XIX. Antonius did not think it prudent to pursue his advantage: he was content to remain master of the field. The victory, he knew, was dearly bought; and it behoved him to spare both men and horses, fatigued with toil, and fainting under their wounds. Towards the close of day, the whole force of Vespasian's army arrived, and joined Antonius. Having seen, on their march, the plains covered with dead bodies, and the ground still reeking with blood, they concluded, from so vast a scene of

slaughter, that the war was nearly over, and, to give the finishing blow, desired to be led on to Cremona, either to receive a voluntary surrender, or to carry the place by storm. This demand sounded like courage and public spirit: but other motives were at the bottom. In their hearts the men argued for their own personal advantage. "Cremona," they said, "was situated in an open "plain, and might be taken by assault. The dark-"ness of the night would not abate their courage, "and for spoil and plunder that was the proper "season. If they waited for the return of day, "terms of peace might arrive; a capitulation would "be proposed; and, in that case, what reward was "the soldier to expect for all his labour, and his "blood spilt in the service? The cold, the useless "praise of moderation and humanity would be his "only recompense, and the wealth of the place "would fall to the principal officers. By the laws of "war, when a town is carried by storm, the booty "belongs to the soldiers; but a surrender transfers "the whole to the generals." Inflamed by these considerations, they disdained to listen to the tribunes and centurions; with the clangour of their arms they suppressed the voice of reason, determined, if not led on to the attack, to shake off all authority.

XX. Antonius made his way through the ranks, and, by his presence having commanded silence, spoke as follows: "It is neither in my temper nor "my intention to deprive a set of gallant soldiers of

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"the glory, or the recompense, due to their valour: "but the general, and the men under his command, "have their distinct provinces. Courage and ardour "for the conflict are the soldier's virtues: to foresee "events, to provide against disasters, and to plan "with deliberation, and even with delay, is the duty "of the commander in chief. By suspending the "operations of war, success is often insured: by "temerity all is put to the hazard. In the last "battle I exposed my person, I fought in the "ranks, I strained every nerve to gain the victory: "let me now by my experience, by advice, and by "prudent counsels, the true arts of a general, "endeavour to terminate the war with glory. The "question at present does not admit of a doubt. "We have the night before us; the town, its "entrance, and the condition of the works, are "unknown to us; the enemy is within the walls, "and may try various stratagems. And if the gates "were thrown open, even then, without the best "intelligence, without broad day-light, and without "a view of the fortifications, it would be madness "to venture. And will you hazard an assault, with-"out knowing the approaches to the place, the "height of the walls, and without being able to "judge whether we ought to batter a breach, or by "missive weapons drive the enemy from the works? "Which of you has been provident enough to "bring his hatchet, his pick-axe, and the various "tools which a siege requires? With those instru-"ments you are unprovided: and what arm among "you is strong enough with a sword and spear to sap

"the walls of Cremona? How are we to throw up "ramparts, and how prepare hurdles and penthouses "to cover our approach? In the moment of need, "must we all stand at gaze, wondering at our folly, "and the strength of the fortifications? Pass but "one night, and with our battering engines, and "our warlike machines, we shall advance in force, "and carry victory along with us at the point of our "swords." At the close of this harangue he ordered the followers of the camp, escorted by a select party of the cavalry, to set out for Bedriacum, in order to bring a supply of provisions, and all necessaries for the use of the army.

XXI. The soldiers were still dissatisfied, and a mutiny was ready to break out, when a party of horse that went out to scour the country, and advanced as far as the walls of Cremona, returned with intelligence, obtained from the stragglers who had fallen into their hands, that the whole Vitellian army encamped at Hostilia, having heard of that day's defeat, made a forced march of thirty miles, and, with a reinforcement of six legions, were near at hand, breathing vengeance, and determined to offer battle. In this alarming crisis the soldiers were willing to listen to their superior officer. Antonius prepared to receive the enemy. He ordered the thirteenth legion to take post on the Posthumian causey; on the open plain, towards their left, he stationed the seventh, called the GALBIAN; and at a small distance the seventh, named the Claudian, on a spot defended by a mere country ditch. On the

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right he placed the eighth legion, on a wide extended plain, and the third in a thick copse, that stood near at hand. Such was the arrangement of the eagles and standards: the soldiers took their post as chance directed them in the dark. The prætorian banner stood near the third legion; the auxiliary cohorts were in the wings: the cavalry covered the flanks and the rear. The two Suevian kings, Sido and Italicus, with the best troops of their nation, took their post in the front of the lines.

XXII. The Vitellian army had every advantage, without the skill to profit by their situation. Had they halted that night at Cremona, as prudence dictated, to refresh their men by food and sleep, the engagement, on the next morning, would have been with an enemy chilled by the damps of the night, and faint for want of provisions. A complete victory would, most probably, have been the consequence. But they had no commander. Without conduct or judgment, about the third hour of the night, they made a forward movement, and attacked an army drawn up in order of battle. Of the disposition made by the Vitellians in the gloom of night, without any guide but their own impetuous fury, it will not be expected that I should give an accurate account: we are told, however, that it was as follows: The fourth legion, called MACEDONICA, was stationed in the right wing; the fifth and fifteenth, supported by the vexillaries of three British legions, the ninth, the second, and

the twentieth, formed the centre: in the left wing stood the first, the sixteenth, and the two-and-twentieth. The soldiers of the two legions called RAPAX and ITALICA were mixed at random throughout the lines. The cavalry and auxiliaries chose their station. The battle lasted through the night with great slaughter on both sides, and alternate success. In the dark, courage gave no superiority; the ardent eye and the vigorous arm were of no avail. All distinction was lost. The weapons on both sides were the same. The watch-word, frequently asked and repeated, was known to both armies. The colours, taken and retaken by different parties, were mixed in wild confusion. The seventh legion, lately raised by Galba, suffered the most. Six of their principal centurions were killed on the spot, and some of their colours taken. The eagle itself was in danger, had not Attilius Verus, the principal centurion (*a*), enacted wonders to prevent that disgrace. He made a dreadful carnage, and died, at last, fighting with undaunted bravery.

XXIII. Vespasian's army was giving way, when Antonius brought the prætorian cohorts into the heat of the action. They routed the enemy, and in their turn were forced to retreat. The Vitellians, at this time, changed the position of their battering engines, which, in the beginning, were placed in different parts of the field, and could only play at random against the woods and hedges that sheltered the enemy. They were now removed to the Posthumian way, and thence, having an open space be-

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fore them, could discharge their missive weapons with good effect. The fifteenth legion had an engine of enormous size (*a*), which was played off with dreadful execution, and discharged massy stones, of weight to crush whole ranks at once. Inevitable ruin must have followed, if two soldiers had not signalized themselves by a brave exploit. Covering themselves with the shields of the enemy which they found among the slain, they advanced undiscovered to the battering engine, and cut the ropes and springs. In this bold adventure they both perished, and with them two names that deserved to be made immortal. The glory of the action is all that can be now recorded.

The battle was hitherto fought with doubtful success, when, night being far advanced, the moon rose, and discovered the face of things with great advantage to Vespasian's army. The light shone on their backs, and the shadows of men and horses projected forward to such a length, that the Vitellians, deceived by appearances, aimed at the wrong mark. Their darts, by consequence, fell short of their aim. The moon-beams, in the mean time, played on the front of their lines, and gave their bodies in full view to the adverse army, who fought behind their shadows, as if concealed in obscurity.

XXIV. Antonius, at length, was happy that he could see and be seen. He did every thing to rouse the courage of his men; he upbraided some; he applauded others; he made ample promises, and gave

hopes to all. He asked the Pannonian legions, what was their motive for taking up arms? "Here," he said, "here is the spot where you may efface the "memory of your former defeat: in this field you "may redeem your honour." He called aloud to the Mæsians, "You were the first movers of the "war; you talked in high-sounding words: but you "talked in vain, if you can neither oppose the swords "nor bear the eye of the enemy." He was busy in every quarter, and had apt words for all. To the third legion he spoke more at large: he called to mind their former and their recent exploits. "They," he said, "were the men, who under Mark Anthony "(*a*) defeated the Parthians; and the Armenians, "under Corbulo. In a late campaign the Sarmatians "fled before them." The prætorians called forth his indignation: "Now," he said, "now is your "time to conquer, or renounce the name of sol-"diers. If you give way, you will be deemed no "better than a band of peasants. What general, or "what camp, will receive you? Your ensigns and "your colours are in the hands of the enemy. You "may there regain them; you now must conquer, "or be put to the sword; after your late disgrace "there is no alternative." A general shout resounded through the field; and in that moment the third legion, according to the custom observed in Syria, paid their adoration to the rising sun (*b*).

XXV. This eastern form of worship, either by chance, or by the contrivance of Antonius, gave rise to a sudden report that Mucianus was arrived,

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and that the two confederate armies exchanged mutual salutations. Animated by this incident, Vespasian's soldiers, as if actually reinforced, charged with redoubled fury. The Vitellian ranks began to give way. Left to their own impulse, without a chief to conduct the battle, they extended or condensed their lines as fear or courage prompted. Antonius saw their confusion. He ordered his men to advance in a close compacted body. The loose and scattered numbers of the enemy gave way at once. The carriages and engines, that lay at random in various parts of the field, made it impossible to restore the order of the battle. The victors, eager to pursue their advantage, pushed forward to the causey, and, having gained a sure footing, made a dreadful carnage.

An incident, that happened in the heat of the action, gave a shock to humanity. A father was killed by his own son. The fact and the names of the men are recorded by Vipstanius Messala: upon his authority I shall state the particulars. Julius Mansuetus, a native of Spain, enrolled himself in the legion already mentioned by the name of RAPAX. He left behind him a son then of tender years. The youth, grown up to manhood, enlisted in the seventh legion raised by Galba. In the hurry and tumult of the fight, he met his father, and with a mortal wound stretched him on the ground. He stooped to examine and rifle the body. The unhappy father raised his eyes, and knew his son. The son, in return, acknowledged his dying parent; he burst into tears; he clasped his father in his arms; and, in the anguish

of his heart, with earnest supplications entreated him not to impute to his unhappy son the detestable crime of parricide. "The deed," he said, "is horrible, but it is not mine; it is the guilt of civil war. "In the general madness of the state, the act of "one poor wretched soldier is a small portion of the "public misery." He then opened a grave, embraced the body, and, with filial affection raising it in his arms, discharged the last melancholy duty to his murdered father.

This pathetic scene did not escape observation. A few drew near, others were attracted, and in a short time the fatal deed was known throughout the army. The soldiers heaved a sigh, and with curses execrated the frantic rage of civil discord. And yet, with those sentiments, they went the next moment to plunder their slaughtered friends, their relations, and brothers. They called it a crime, and yet repeated what their hearts condemned.

XXVI. The conquerors pushed on to Cremona, and no sooner drew near the place, than they saw a new difficulty still to be surmounted. In the war with Otho, the German legions had formed a camp round the walls of the town, and fortified it with lines of circumvallation. New works were added afterwards. The victors stood astonished at the sight, and even the generals were at a stand, undecided what plan to pursue. With troops harassed and worn out by continued exertions through the night and day, an attempt to carry the place by storm was not advisable, and, without succours at hand, might be

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dangerous; and yet the march to Bedriacum would be a laborious undertaking, and to retreat were to give up the fruit of a victory dearly earned. In their present situation, it would be necessary to throw up entrenchments; and that work, in the face of an enemy on the watch to sally out, might put every thing to the hazard. A difficulty still greater than all arose from the temper of the men, who showed themselves, at all times, insensible of danger, and impatient of delay. A state of security was a state of listless indolence, and daring enterprise was the proper occupation of a soldier. Wounds, and blood, and slaughter, were nothing to men who thought that plunder can never be too dearly bought.

XXVII. Antonius judged it best to yield to the disposition of his men. He invested the works, determined to risk a general assault. The attack began at a distance, with a volley of stones and darts. The advantage was on the side of the besieged. They possessed the heights, and with surer aim annoyed the enemy at the foot of the ramparts. Antonius saw the necessity of dividing his operations: to some of the legions he assigned distinct parts of the works, and ordered others to advance against the gates. By this mode of attack in different quarters, he knew that valour as well as cowardice would be conspicuous, and a spirit of emulation would animate the whole army. The third and seventh legions took their station opposite to the road that leads to Bedriacum; the seventh and eighth Claudian legions carried on the siege on the right hand of the town;

and the thirteenth invested the gate that looked towards Brixia (*a*). In this position the troops rested on their arms, till they were supplied from the neighbouring villages with pick-axes, spades, and hooks, and scaling-ladders. Being, at length, provided with proper weapons, they formed a military shell with their shields, and, under that cover, advanced to the ramparts. The Roman art of war was seen on both sides. The Vitellians rolled down massy stones, and, wherever they saw an opening, inserting their long poles and spears, rent asunder the whole frame and texture of the shields, while the assailants, deprived of shelter, suffered a terrible slaughter.

XXVIII. The assault was no longer pushed on with vigour. The generals saw that their exhortations had no effect, and that mere praise was a barren recompense. To inspire the men with courage, they pointed to Cremona as the reward of victory. Whether this expedient was, as Messala informs us, suggested by Hormus, or, on the authority of Caius Plinius (*a*), must be laid to the account of Antonius; we have now no means of knowing. Whoever was the author of a deed so cruel and flagitious, neither of those two officers can be said to have degenerated from his former principles. The place being thus devoted to plunder, nothing could restrain the ardour of the soldiers. Braving wounds, and danger, and death itself, they began to sap the foundation of the walls; they battered the gates; they braced their shields over their heads; and, mounting on

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the shoulders of their comrades, they grappled with the besieged, and dragged them headlong from the ramparts. A dreadful havoc followed. The unhurt, the wounded, the maimed, and the dying, fell in one promiscuous heap; and death, in all its forms, presented a spectacle of horror.

XXIX. The most vigorous assault was made by the third and the seventh legions. To support them, Antonius in person led on a select body of auxiliaries. The Vitellians were no longer able to sustain the shock. They saw their darts fall on the military shell (*a*), and glide off without effect. Enraged at their disappointment, in a fit of despair they rolled down their battering engine on the heads of the besiegers. Numbers were crushed by the fall of such a ponderous mass. It happened, however, that the machine drew after it the parapet and part of the rampart. An adjoining tower, which had been incessantly battered, fell at the same time, and left a breach for the troops to enter. The seventh legion, in the form of a wedge, endeavoured to force their way, while the third hewed down the gate. The first man that entered, according to all historians, was Caius Volusius, a common soldier of the third legion. He gained the summit of the rampart, and, bearing down all resistance, with his voice, with his sword, made himself conspicuous to his comrades, crying aloud, "The camp is taken." The rest of the legion followed him with resistless fury. The Vitellians, in despair, threw themselves headlong from the works. The conquerors pursued their

advantage with dreadful slaughter. The whole space between the camp and the walls of Cremona was one continued scene of blood (*b*).

XXX. The town itself presented new difficulties, high walls, and towers of stone, the gates secured by iron bars, and the works well manned with troops, that showed themselves on the ramparts, in force, and brandishing their arms. The inhabitants, a large and numerous body, were all devoted to Vitellius; and the annual fair, which was then held, had drawn together a prodigious conflux from all parts of Italy. This appeared to the garrison in the nature of a reinforcement; but it was, at the same time, an accession of wealth that inflamed the ardour of the besiegers. Antonius ordered his men to advance with missive combustibles, and set fire to the pleasant villas that lay round the city, in hopes that the inhabitants, seeing their mansions destroyed, would more readily submit to a capitulation. In the houses that stood near the walls, of a height to overlook the works, he placed the bravest of his troops; and, from those stations, large rafts of timber, stones, and firebrands were thrown in upon the garrison. The Vitellians were no longer able to maintain their post.

XXXI. The legions under Antonius were now preparing for a general assault. They formed their military shell, and advanced to the works, while the rest of the army poured in a volley of stones and darts. The besieged began to despair; their spirit

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died away by degrees, and the men high in rank were willing to make terms for themselves. If Cremona was taken by storm, they expected no quarter. The conquerors, in that case, disdaining vulgar lives, would fall on the tribunes and centurions, from whom the largest booty was to be expected. The common men, as usual, careless about future events, and safe in indigence and obscurity, were still for making head against the enemy. They roamed about the streets in sullen obstinacy, or loitered in private houses, neither making war nor thinking of peace. The principal officers took down the name and images of Vitellius. Cæcina was still in confinement. They released him from his fetters, and desired his good offices with the conqueror. He heard their petition with disdain, swelling with pride and insolence in proportion to the meanness with which they implored his aid. The last stage of human misery! when so many brave and gallant men were obliged to sue to a traitor for protection. As a signal of submission, they hung out from the walls the sacerdotal scarfs (*a*) and sacred vestments. Antonius ordered a cessation of hostilities. The garrison marched out with the eagles and standards. The procession was slow and melancholy; the soldiers without their arms, dejection in their countenance, and their eyes riveted to the ground. The conquerors gathered round them, with taunts and ribaldry insulting their misfortunes, and even threatening violence to their persons. But the humility of the vanquished, and the passive temper with which they bore every indignity, without a trace remain-

ing of their former ferocity, awakened compassion in every breast. It was now remembered, that these very men conquered at Bedriacum, and used their victory with moderation. At length Cæcina came forth in his ornamental robes, with all the pomp of a consular magistrate, the lictors preceding him, and opening way for him through the crowd. The indignation due to a traitor broke out at once. The soldiers treated him with every mark of contempt; they reproached him for his pride, his cruelty, and even for his treachery: so true it is, that villany is sure to be detested by the very people who have profited by it. Antonius snatched him from the fury of the men, and soon after sent him, properly escorted, to Vespasian.

XXXII. The common people of Cremona, in the midst of so many soldiers flushed with the pride of victory, were in danger of being all put to the sword, if the general officers had not interfered to prevent the effusion of blood. Antonius called an assembly of the army. He spoke of the conquerors in magnificent terms, and of the vanquished with humanity. He mentioned Cremona with reserve and cold indifference. But the men were bent on the ruin of the colony. To their love of plunder they added an implacable aversion to the people, and various motives conspired to work the destruction of the place. In the war against Otho the inhabitants were deemed the secret abettors of Vitellius; and afterwards, when the thirteenth legion was left among them to build an amphitheatre, the populace, in their usual strain

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of vulgar humour, made the soldiers an object of derision. In addition to this, the spectacle of gladiators exhibited by Cæcina was turned into a crime against the people. Their city was now, for the second time, the seat of war; and, in the heat of the last engagement, the Vitellians were thence supplied with refreshments; and some of their women, who had been led into the field of battle by their zeal for the cause, were slain among the ranks. But above all, the well-known opulence of the colony, increased, in that juncture, by the vast concourse attracted to the fair with their goods and merchandise, was a decisive argument for the demolition of the place. Antonius by his fame and brilliant success eclipsed all the other commanders. The attention of the men was fixed on him alone. Determined, however, to be neutral on the occasion, he retired to a bath to refresh himself after the fatigue of the day. Finding the water not sufficiently warm, he said in a careless manner, "It will be hot enough in a little time." That trifling expression, dropt by accident amongst his slaves, was afterwards caught up, and propagated to his prejudice, as if it were the intended signal for setting fire to Cremona. At that moment the city was in a blaze.

XXXIII. Forty thousand men had entered sword in hand. The number of slaves and mean attendants of the camp was still greater, all bent on mischief, and more inclined to acts of barbarity than even the soldiers. Neither sex, nor age, nor dignity of rank, was spared. A scene of blood was laid, and, amidst

the horrors of a general massacre, lust and violation triumphed. Old men and ancient matrons, who had no wealth to satisfy avarice, were dragged forth with scorn, and butchered with derision. The young and comely of either sex were sure to suffer the brutal passions of abandoned men, or to be torn piecemeal in the struggle for the possession of their persons. In those conflicts the contending rivals, in the rage of disappointed lust, turned their swords against each other. The men, who were seen carrying off the wealth of houses, or massy gold from the temples, were attacked and butchered by others as rapacious as themselves. Not content with the treasures that lay open to their view, they put several to the rack, in order to extort a confession of concealed riches. The ground was dug up, to gratify the rage of avarice. Numbers carried flaming torches, and, as soon as they had brought forth their booty, made it their sport to set the houses and temples on fire. In so vast a multitude, as dissonant in their language as their manners, composed of Roman citizens, allies, and foreign auxiliaries, all the fell passions of mankind were crowded together. Each soldier had his peculiar notions of right and wrong; and what one scrupled, another dared to execute. Nothing was unlawful, nothing sacred. Four days were spent in the destruction of this unfortunate city. Things profane and holy perished in the flames. The temple of Mephitis (*a*), which stood on the outside of the walls, was the only structure left entire. It was saved by its situation, or, perhaps, by the goddess to whom it was dedicated.

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XXXIV. Such was the fate of Cremona, two hundred and eighty-six years from its foundation. The first stone was laid during the consulship of Tiberius Sempronius and Publius Cornelius, at the time when Hannibal threatened an irruption into Italy. The design was to have a frontier town, to bridle the Gauls inhabiting beyond the Po, or any power on the other side of the Alps. The colony, from that time, grew into celebrity; their numbers multiplied, and their wealth increased; the country round was intersected with rivers; the soil was fertile, and by intermarriages (*a*) the inhabitants formed alliances with the neighbouring towns of Italy. The city continued to flourish in the worst of times, safe from foreign enemies, till ruined at last by the rage of civil war. Antonius felt that the whole disgrace of this horrible transaction pressed hard upon himself. To soften resentment, he issued an edict, forbidding all manner of persons to detain the citizens of Cremona as prisoners of war. At the same time, all Italy entered into a resolution not to purchase the captives taken on that melancholy occasion. The soldiers, finding that their prey was rendered useless, began to murder the wretches whom they could not sell. This barbarity, however, was checked as soon as known. The prisoners were ransomed by their friends and relations. The survivors in a short time returned to Cremona. The temples and public places were rebuilt, at the recommendation of Vespasian, by the munificence of the colony.

XXXV. A city buried in its own ruins, the

country round polluted with gore, and the air infected by the exhalation of putrid bodies, afforded no place where the army could remain. They encamped at the distance of three miles. The Vitellian soldiers, who in their panic had fled different ways, were brought back, as fast as they were found, and once more enrolled in their proper companies; and, lest the legions to which they belonged should meditate hostile designs, they were sent into Illyricum, and there stationed, at a distance from the seat of war. To spread the fame of Vespasian's arms, messengers were dispatched into Britain and both the Spains. Julius Calenus, one of the tribunes, was sent into Gaul, and Alpinus Montanus, the præfect of a cohort, into Germany. The former was by birth an Æduan, and the latter a native of Treves; both warmly attached to Vitellius, and for that reason chosen, with an air of triumph, to bear the news of his defeat. Care was also taken to secure by a chain of posts the passes over the Alps, to prevent an irruption from Germany, supposed, at that time, to be in arms in favour of the vanquished party.

XXXVI. Vitellius, in a few days after Cæcina set out from Rome, prevailed on Fabius Valens to take upon him the conduct of the war. From that moment he gave himself up to his usual gratifications, in wine and gluttony losing all sense of danger. He made no preparation for the field, and showed no attention to the soldiers. He neither reviewed, nor exercised, nor harangued them;

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never once appeared before the people. Hid in the recess of his gardens, he indulged his appetite, forgetting the past, the present, and all solicitude about future events; like those nauseous animals that know no care, and, while they are supplied with food, remain in one spot, torpid and insensible. In this state of stupidity he passed his time in the grove of Aricinum (*a*), when the treachery of Lucilius Bassus, and the revolt of the fleet at Ravenna, roused him from his lethargy. In a short time after arrived other dispatches, by which he learned, with mixed emotions of grief and joy, the perfidy of Cæcina, and his imprisonment by the the soldiers. In a mind like his, incapable of reflection, joy prevailed over every other passion, and absorbed all ideas of danger. He returned to Rome in the highest exultation; and having extolled, before an assembly of the people, the zeal and ardour of the army, he ordered Publius Sabinus, the præfect of the prætorian guards and the intimate friend of Cæcina, to be taken into custody. Alphenus Varus succeeded to the command.

XXXVII. Vitellius went next to the senate, and, in a speech of prepared eloquence, talked highly of the posture of affairs. The fathers answered him in a strain of flattery. The case of Cæcina was brought into debate by Lucius Vitellius. He moved that immediate judgment should be pronounced against him. The rest of the senate concurred; and, with well acted indignation, launched out against the complicated perfidy of a man, who in the character

of consul abandoned the commonwealth, as a general officer betrayed his prince, and, as a friend loaded with honours, gave an example of base ingratitude. In this specious manner they affected to lament the lot of Vitellius, but, in fact, felt only for themselves and the commonwealth. Through the whole debate, not a word was uttered against the leaders of Vespasian's party; the revolt of the several armies was called, in qualifying terms, an error in judgment; and, with studied circuity, the name of Vespasian was wholly avoided. They alluded to him, they hesitated, and yet passed him by in silence. To complete the consulship of Cæcina one day remained. To fill that little interval, a man was found willing to be invested with the short-lived pageantry; and accordingly, on the day preceding the calends of November, Rosius Regulus entered on the office, and on the same day finished his career. The public saw with derision a farce of state altogether ridiculous, as well on the part of the prince, who granted the mock dignity, as on that of the sycophant, who had the pitiful ambition to accept it. It was observed by men versed in the history of their country, that no instance had ever occurred of a new consul, before the office was declared vacant in due course of law. Caninius Rebilus (*a*), it is true, had been the consul of a day; but that was in the time of Julius Cæsar, when that emperor, in haste to reward his friends for their services in the civil wars, thought fit, by an act of power, to shorten the duration of the consulship.

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XXVIII. The death of Junius Blæsus became at this time publicly known, and engrossed the conversation of all ranks of men. The particulars of this tragic event, as far as they have come to my knowledge, are as follows: It happened that Vitellius, confined by illness in the gardens of Servilius, saw, in the night-time, a tower in the neighbourhood gaily illuminated. He desired to know the reason of that splendid appearance, and was told, that Cæcina Tuscus gave a grand entertainment to a party of his friends, amongst whom Junius Blæsus was the most distinguished. The sumptuous preparations, and the mirth of the company, were described with every circumstance of exaggeration. The creatures of the court did not fail to impute it as a crime to Tuscus and his guests, that they chose their time for revelling in an unseasonable juncture, when the prince was indisposed. Their malice chiefly glanced at Blæsus. The men who made it their business to pry into the secret thoughts of the emperor, soon perceived that they had infused their venom with success, and that the ruin of Blæsus might be easily accomplished. To make sure of their blow, they applied to Lucius Vitellius, who readily undertook to manage the accusation. Being himself stained with every vice, and for his life and morals universally decried, he saw with envy the fair reputation and the popular esteem that attended Blæsus. With this jealousy rankling in his heart, he clasped the emperor's infant son in his arms, and, entering the prince's chamber, went down on his knees. Vitellius asked him, Why that sudden alarm? "It is not for

"myself," replied the brother, "that I am thus distressed: it is for you I shed these tears; for you and your children I come to offer up my prayers and supplications. From Vespasian we have nothing to fear: the German legions are in arms to hinder his approach; the provinces declare against him, and vast tracts of sea and land detain him at a distance from the seat of war. The enemy to be dreaded is near at hand; he is in the city of Rome; he is even now lurking in your bosom. Proud of his descent from Mark Anthony and the Junian family, he affects to be connected with the imperial line, and, by caresses and a style of magnificence, endeavours to conciliate to himself the affections of the soldiers. Upon this man all eyes are fixed. Vitellius, in the mean time, passes away his hours in unsuspecting security, neglecting at once his enemies and his friends; he cherishes in his bosom a treacherous rival, who from the banqueting table, and his scene of midnight revelry, beheld with joy the languid condition of his sovereign. But for joy and riot let him be repaid with vengeance, and a night of mourning; let him know that Vitellius lives; that he is master of the Roman world, and, whenever the lot of humanity shall call him hence, that he has a son to follow in the order of succession."

XXXIX. Vitellius balanced, for some time, between the horror of the deed proposed and his apprehensions for himself. By deferring the fate of Blæsus he might accelerate his own ruin, and to

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give public orders for his execution were a dangerous expedient. A measure so bold and open would excite the indignation of the people. To dispatch him by poison seemed to be the safest method. That he was guilty of that execrable villany, the visit which he paid to Blæsus leaves no room to doubt. He was seen transported with savage joy, and was heard to say, "I have feasted my eyes with "the pangs of an expiring enemy." Those were his words. The character of Blæsus was without a blemish. To the dignity of his birth, and the elegance of his manners, he united the strictest honour, and unshaken fidelity to the emperor. While Vitellius was still flourishing in prosperity, Cæcina, and other chiefs of the party, endeavoured to draw him into a league with themselves: but he was proof against all temptation; firm, upright, void of ambition. He sought no sudden honours, and to a mind like his the imperial dignity had no allurement. And yet his modesty threw such a lustre round his virtues, that he narrowly escaped being deemed worthy of the succession.

XL. During these transactions, Fabius Valens, with a number of concubines and eunuchs in his train, proceeded by slow and tedious marches, unlike a general going to a great and important war. On the road he received intelligence of the treachery of Lucilius Bassus, and the defection of the fleet at Ravenna. Had he then pushed on with vigour, he might have joined Cæcina, who was still wavering and undecided; at the worst, he might have put

himself at the head of the legions before they came to a decisive action. His friends were of opinion, that, with a few faithful attendants, avoiding the road that led to Ravenna, he ought to proceed with expedition, through private ways, to Hostilia and Cremona. Others pressed him to bring into the field the prætorian bands from Rome, and force his way to the Vitellian army. But the time was lost in fruitless deliberation. The posture of affairs called for vigour, and Valens remained irresolute and inactive. In the end, rejecting all advice, he chose a middle course, in pressing exigencies always the most pernicious. He neither acted with the courage nor the prudence of an able general.

XLI. He sent dispatches to Vitellius for a reinforcement, and was soon after joined by three cohorts and a squadron of horse from Britain; a number too great to steal a march, and too weak to open a passage through an enemy's country. Even in this arduous juncture, amidst the dangers that pressed on every side, Valens was not to be weaned from his favourite vices. Riot, lust, and adultery marked his way. He had power, and money; and, even in ruin, his libidinous passions did not desert him. He was no sooner joined by the foot and cavalry sent by Vitellius, than he saw, too late, the folly of his measures. With his whole force, supposing the men true to Vitellius, he could not hope to penetrate through the adverse army; much less could he expect it, when their fidelity was already suspected. Shame, and respect for their general, still left some

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impression on the minds of the men; but those were feeble restraints, when the love of enterprise was the ruling passion, and all principle was extinguished. Valens felt the difficulty of his situation. Having ordered the cohorts to march forward to Ariminum (*a*), and the cavalry to follow in the rear, he himself, with a few adherents whom adversity had not yet seduced, directed his course towards Umbria (*b*), and thence to Etruria, where he first heard of the defeat at Cremona. In that disastrous moment he conceived a bold design, in its extent vast and magnificent, and, had it been carried into execution, big with fatal consequences. He proposed to seize the ships on the coast, and bear away to Narbon Gaul, in order to land somewhere in that country, and rouse the provinces of Gaul, with the armies stationed there, and the various German nations. The project was worthy of a great officer, and, by its consequences, must have involved the world in a new war.

XLII. The departure of Valens threw the garrison of Ariminum into consternation. Cornelius Fuscus advanced, at the head of his army, to lay siege to the place, and having ordered the fleet to sail round the coast, invested it by sea and land. His forces spread themselves over the plains of Umbria, and stretched into the territory of Picenum (*a*) as as far as the Adriatic gulf. Italy was now divided between Vespasian and Vitellius by the Apennine mountains. Valens embarked at the port of Pisa (*b*), but being becalmed, or meeting with contrary

winds, was forced to land at Monaco (*c*). Marius Maturus, the governor of the maritime Alps, was then in the neighbourhood; a man attached to Vitellius, and, though the country round espoused the opposite interest, still firm in his duty. This officer received Valens with open arms; but the design of making an attempt on the coast of Narbon Gaul appeared to him rash and impracticable. By his advice the project was laid aside. The few followers who had hitherto adhered to Valens, began to think of shifting for themselves. They saw the adjacent cities going over to Valerius Paulinus, who commanded in the neighbourhood; an officer of distinguished merit, and, long before the war broke out, devoted to Vespasian. Under his influence the people declared for the new emperor.

XLIII. Paulinus was master of Forojulium, a place of importance, that gave him the command of those seas. He had there stationed a garrison, consisting of men disbanded by Vitellius, and therefore willing to take up arms against him. Paulinus was a native of the colony, and had, by consequence, great weight with his countrymen. He had also been a tribune of the prætorian guards, and was held in high esteem by the soldiers of that description. The people were willing to second the views of their fellow citizen, and the hope of future advantages from his elevation was a spur to their zeal. In this posture of affairs, while every thing was swelled by the voice of fame to greater magnitude, Valens saw the spirit of the Vitellian party

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depressed and broken. To return to his ships was now his only refuge. He took with him four prætorians, three faithful friends, and as many centurions. With those attendants he once more embarked, leaving Maturus, and such as were willing to submit to Vespasian, to pursue their own inclination. As to himself, the open sea was the safest place: on shore he saw no security, and in the adjacent cities no prospect of relief. Without a resource left, and rather seeing what was to be avoided than what he ought to pursue, he put to sea, and was thrown by adverse winds on the islands called the Stæchades (*a*), near Marseilles. Paulinus, without loss of time, sent out his light-armed galleys, and Valens was taken prisoner.

XLIV. The Vitellian general being now in the hands of the enemy, the whole force of the empire was transferred to Vespasian. In Spain, the first legion, called ADJUTRIX, still respecting the memory of Otho, and by consequence hostile to Vitellius, gave an example of revolt to the rest of the army. The tenth and sixth legions followed. The provinces of Gaul acceded without hesitation. In Britain the same spirit prevailed. During the reign of Claudius, Vespasian headed the second legion; and the men, still remembering the heroic ardour with which he led them on to victory, were soon decided in his favour. They met, however, some opposition from the other legions, in which a considerable number of centurions and soldiers, who had been promoted by Vitellius, were unwill-

ing to desert a prince to whom they felt themselves bound by ties of gratitude. It was with reluctance that they were brought to acknowledge a new master.

XLV. Encouraged by the dissension among the legions, and also by the civil wars that distracted the empire, the Britons renewed their ancient animosity. Venusius headed the male-contents. To his own natural ferocity that chieftain added a rooted antipathy to the Roman name. He was, besides, the avowed enemy of Cartismandua (*a*), queen of the Brigantes; a woman of high descent, and flourishing in all the splendour of wealth and power. In the reign of Claudius, she had treacherously delivered up Caractacus, to swell the pomp of that emperor's triumph. From that time riches flowed in upon her; but riches drew after them their usual appendages, luxury and dissipation. She banished from her presence Venusius her husband, and raised Vellocatus, his armour-bearer, to her throne and bed. By that criminal act she lost all authority. Convulsions shook her kingdom. The discarded husband had the people on his side, while the adulterer had nothing to protect him but the libidinous passions of the queen, and the cruelty of her reign. Venusius was in a short time at the head of a powerful army. The subjects of the queen flocked to his standard, and a body of auxiliaries joined him. Cartismandua was reduced to the last extremity. She invoked the protection of the Romans, who sent some cohorts and squadrons

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of horse to her relief. Several battles ensued, with various success. The queen, however, was rescued from impending danger, though she lost her kingdom. Venusius wrested the sceptre out of her hands, and the Romans were involved in a war.

XLVI. About the same time, Germany was up in arms. The seditious spirit of the legions, and the sluggish inactivity of the commanders, encouraged the Barbarians to invade the Roman frontiers. By the treachery of the states in alliance, and the strength of the enemy, the interest of the empire was brought to the brink of ruin. Of this war, and the causes that produced it, with the various events that followed, I shall hereafter (*a*), give a regular account; it would lead at present to a long digression. Commotions, about the same time, broke out in Dacia. Fidelity never was the character of that nation; and, since the legions were withdrawn from Mæsia, there remained no force to hold the people in subjection. They had the policy, however, to watch in silence the first movements of civil discord among the Romans. Seeing, at length, that Italy was in a blaze, they seized their opportunity, and stormed the winter quarters of the cohorts and the cavalry. Having made themselves masters of both banks of the Danube, they were preparing to raze to the ground the camp of the legions, when Mucianus, apprised of the victory at Cremona, sent the sixth legion to check the incursions of the enemy. The good fortune that had often favoured the Roman arms, brought Mucianus in the moment

of distress, with the forces of the east, to quell the insurrection, before the people of that country, backed by the German nations, could make an irruption into Italy. In that juncture, Fonteius Agrippa (*b*) arrived from Asia, where he had governed for a year with proconsular authority, and was now appointed to command in Mæsia. He undertook the charge, at the head of an army composed of Vitellian soldiers, whom it was then the policy to disperse through the provinces, and employ their arms against the foreign enemies of the empire.

XLVII. The rest of the provinces were by no means free from commotion. A man who had been originally a slave, and afterwards commanded a royal fleet, kindled the flame of war in Pontus, and drew together a body of men in arms. His name was Anicetus (*a*), the freedman and favourite minister of Polemon, high in power while that monarchy lasted, but now enraged to see the kingdom turned into a Roman province. In the name of Vitellius he roused the nations bordering on the Pontic sea. The hope of plunder attracted to his standard all the freebooters of the country. Finding himself in a short time at the head of a force not to be despised, he attacked and carried by assault the city of Trapezund (*b*), founded in ancient times by a colony from Greece, at the extremity of the Pontic sea. An entire cohort, formerly a royal garrison, was put to the sword. The men had received the privilege of Roman citizens (*c*), and, from that time, used

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the arms and banners of Rome, still retaining their native indolence, and the dissolute manners of the Greeks. This adventurer, after his first exploit, set fire to Vespasian's fleet, and put out to sea safe from pursuit, as the best of the light galleys, by order of Mucianus, were stationed at Byzantium. Encouraged by his example, the Barbarians on the coast began a piratical war. They roamed about in boats of a particular structure, the sides broad at the bottom, and growing narrow by degrees, in the form of a curve, and neither bound with hoops of iron nor of brass. In a tempestuous sea, they raise the sides with additional planks in proportion to the swell of the waves, till the vessel is covered over with an arched roof, and thence is called the floating CAMERA (*d*). At either end they have a sharp-pointed prow; their oars are readily shifted to work backward or forward, moving with facility in either direction, and thus their mariners advance or retreat with ease and security.

XLVIII. Vespasian thought it of moment to chase this band of pirates from the seas, and, for this purpose, sent a detachment of the legions under the command of Virdius Geminus, an officer of known experience. He came up with the Barbarians as they were roaming on the shore in quest of prey, and forced them to fly with precipitation to their boats. Having, in a short time after, constructed a number of galleys fit for the service, he gave chase to Anicetus, and drove him up the mouth of the river Cohibus (*a*); a station where the freebooter

thought himself safe under the protection of the king of the Sedochezan nation (*b*). By money and various presents he had purchased the friendship of that prince, and for a short time enjoyed the advantage of his alliance. The king threatened to take up arms in his defence; but finding that he was to choose between bribery or an impending war, he preferred his interest, and, with the usual treachery of Barbarians, having struck a bargain for the life of his friend, surrendered the whole party to the Romans. In this manner ended the servile war.

The issue of this piratical war gave the highest satisfaction to Vespasian; and to fill the measure of his joy, an account of the victory at Cremona reached him in Ægypt. Without loss of time, he set out for Alexandria, with intent, since Vitellius could no longer keep the field, to reduce the people of Rome by famine; a project easily accomplished, as that city, for its subsistence, always depends on foreign supplies. It was also a part of his plan to secure the coast of Africa both by land and sea, little doubting, when all resources were cut off, but he should involve the Vitellian party in all the miseries of want, and, by consequence, in dissensions among themselves.

XLIX. While things in every quarter of the world tended with rapidity to a revolution, and the imperial dignity was passing into the hands of a new sovereign, Antonius, flushed with his success at Cremona, no longer preserved the moderation that marked his conduct before that important

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event. The war he thought so far decided, that every thing would be speedily settled; or, perhaps, the sunshine of prosperity called forth the seeds of pride, of avarice, and the other vices of his nature. He considered Italy as a conquered country; he caressed the soldiers, as if he intended to secure them to himself; by his words and actions he seemed resolved to establish his own power; he encouraged the licentious spirit of the army, and left to the legions the nomination of centurions to fill the vacant posts of such as were slain in battle. The consequence was, that the most bold and turbulent were chosen, and discipline went to ruin. The officers lost all authority, and the soldiers commanded. The army being wholly corrupted by these popular but seditious arts, Antonius thought he might safely give the reins to his avarice, and began by public rapine to enrich himself. The approach of Mucianus was no restraint, though to incur the displeasure of that commander was more dangerous than to offend Vespasian himself.

L. The winter being now at hand, and the country laid under water by the overflowing of the Po, the army was obliged to march lightly equipped. The eagles and banners of the victorious legions, with the old, the wounded, and even numbers in full vigour, were left at Verona. The cohorts and cavalry, with a select detachment from the legions, were thought sufficient against an enemy already vanquished. The eleventh legion, at first unwilling to enter into the war, but since the turn of affairs

regretting that they had no share in the victory, had lately joined the army, accompanied by six thousand Dalmatians, newly levied. The whole body was, in appearance, led by Poppæus Silvanus, a man of consular rank; but, in fact, Annius Bassus governed their motions by his skill and advice. Silvanus had no military talents: in the moment that called for enterprise, he was more inclined to waste the time in words than to act with vigour. Bassus assisted him with his best counsels, appearing to obey, but in truth commanding. To this body of forces was added the flower of the marines from the fleet at Ravenna, who had desired to be considered as legionary soldiers. The fleet, in the mean time, was manned by the Dalmatians. The army proceeded as far as the temple of Fortune (*a*), and there made halt by order of the chiefs, who had not yet settled their plan of operations. They had received intelligence that the prætorian cohorts were on their march from Rome, and the passes over the Appenine were supposed to be in the possession of the enemy. In a country laid waste by war, they dreaded the danger of wanting provisions; and the clamours of the soldiers demanding the donative, by the army called CLAVARIUM (*b*), were loud, and tending to sedition. The generals had no money in their military chest; and the provisions were exhausted by the rapacity of the soldiers, who seized the stores, which ought to have been distributed with frugal management.

LI. A fact extraordinary in its nature, and yet

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vouched by writers of good authority, will serve to show how little of moral rectitude and natural sentiment remained in the minds of the victorious army. A common soldier belonging to the cavalry averred that, in the late engagement, he killed his brother, and for that deed of horror he had the hardiness to demand a recompense. The laws of nature would not allow the superior officers to reward an action that shocked humanity; and to punish it was inconsistent with the policy of war. Under a plausible pretence of not being able, in that juncture, to proportion their bounty to the extent of the merit, they adjourned the business, and thought of it no more. In former civil wars we have upon record a similar tragic incident, but with a different issue. In the battle with Cinna at Janiculum (*a*), a man of Pompey's party (as Sisenna relates the story) slew his brother, and soon after, finding his mistake, dispatched himself: so true it is, that in ancient times men not only had a quick sense of glory, but also felt a just abhorrence of evil deeds. For the insertion of this anecdote no apology will be deemed necessary: on the contrary, it may be proper to revive the memory of past transactions, in order, whenever the occasion requires it, to exhibit a bright example of eminent virtue, or to sooth the mind under the pressure of recent calamity.

LII. Antonius, in concert with the principal officers, judged it prudent to send forward the cavalry, with orders to explore, in some part of Umbria, a place of moderate acclivity over the Apennine

mountains. In the mean time, the troops left behind at Verona were ordered to advance with the eagles and standards. Measures were also taken to procure a supply of provisions by sea, and also by the navigation of the Po. But delay was what some of the chiefs had much at heart. They knew the pride and growing ambition of Antonius, and thought it more for their interest to curry favour with Mucianus, who saw with a jealous eye the rapid success with which Antonius pushed on his conquest. If the general of the East did not arrive in time to enter Rome with his victorious army, it was evident that the whole glory of the war would fall to the lot of others. His letters to Varus and Antonius were dark, ambiguous, and contradictory; sometimes recommending dispatch, and afterwards stating the advantages of caution and dila ory measures. By this duplicity he hoped to assume the merit of whatever succeeded, and, if any misfortune happened, to throw the blame on others. With his intimate friends, and, in particular, with Plotius Griphus (*a*), lately raised by Vespasian to the rank of senator, and the command of a legion, his correspondence was more open and direct. The answers which he received were in a style agreeable to his wishes, full of compliments to himself, and malignant reflections on the rashness of Varus and Antonius. These letters Mucianus took care to forward to Vespasian. The impression which they made was unfavourable to Antonius; who knew the value of his services, and yet found himself supplanted in the opinion of the future emperor.

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LIII. Antonius, with the spirit of an injured man, complained of the insidious arts with which Mucianus undermined his character. Above disguising his passions, and scorning to temporize, he spoke his mind with freedom. His letters to Vepasian were in a tone more lofty than is usually addressed to princes. He talked of himself with an air of confidence, and with asperity of Mucianus, the assassin of his reputation. "It was by Antonius that the legions in Pannonia were excited to a revolt; by him the leaders in Mæsia were inspired with courage; by him the Alps were forced, Italy subdued, and by him all succours from Germany and Rhætia were entirely cut off. By him the cavalry was led on to attack the legions of Vitellius, in the moment of disunion among themselves; and the complete victory obtained by the infantry, after an obstinate engagement that lasted night and day, was an exploit of which envy itself could not deny him the merit. The destruction of Cremona was a calamity incident to the rage of civil war; and yet that calamity, dreadful as it was, could not be compared to the disasters of former times, when the republic saw her cities rased to the ground, and the land deluged with blood. In the war which he had conducted, his sword, and not his pen, was the weapon which he employed. Instead of writing secret dispatches, he sought the enemy in the field. Nor did he mean to detract from those who commanded in Asia: they had the mighty glory of preserving tranquillity in the distant territory of Mæsia, while he routed the Vitellian armies,

"and made himself master of Italy. Spain and Gaul "the two bulwarks of the empire, were by his in- "fluence drawn over to Vespasian. But his best "efforts had been in vain exerted, if his laurels, "so dearly earned, were to be transferred to men, "who neither shared in the victory nor the danger." These remonstrances did not remain a secret to Mucianus. The consequence was, a deadly feud between the two commanders; on the part of Antonius, carried on with open and avowed hostility; on that of Mucianus, with close disguise, and, for that reason, the more implacable.

LIV. Vitellius, after the overthrow of his army at Cremona, thought it good policy to suppress the news. By that shallow artifice, he made every thing worse. Dissimulation could only postpone the remedy, but not ward off the consequences of that dreadful defeat. Had the event been fairly told, a council might have been called, and there were resources still in reserve. In the midst of ruin, he pretended to be in a flourishing condition, and by that fallacy was undone. The war was not so much as mentioned in his presence. The citizens of Rome were forbid to talk of the news of the day, and for that reason they talked the more. Since liberty of speech was no longer allowed, instead of the plain truth they gave out fictitious accounts, and, because they were restrained, took their revenge by making every thing worse. The chiefs of the adverse party omitted nothing that could extend the fame of their victory. The spies that fell into their hands were in-

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dustriously led round the camp, and, after seeing the strength and spirit of the conquerors, dismissed to make their report at Rome. Vitellius examined them in private, and, that nothing might transpire, ordered them to be put to death. A singular proof of fidelity and generous courage was, at this time, given by a centurion; his name Julius Agrestis. This man, in several interviews with Vitellius, tried in vain to rouse his master to a spirit of enterprise. All he could obtain was leave to go in person to view the strength of the enemy, and see the real condition of Cremona. Scorning to approach Antonius in the character of a spy, he avowed the emperor's orders, and his own resolution. A guard was appointed to conduct him. He was led to the field of battle; he surveyed the ruins of Cremona, and saw the legions that had laid down their arms. With that intelligence he returned to Vitellius. The emperor, deaf to the voice of truth, and unwilling to be convinced, charged the centurion with treachery and corruption. "I perceive," said Agrestis, "that "some great and signal proof is necessary; and, "since neither my life nor death can now be of any "use, I will give you that evidence which cannot "deceive." He retired, and fell on his sword. According to some historians, he was slain by order of Vitellius. Be that as it may, the fidelity of the generous centurion deserves to be transmitted to posterity.

LV. At length Vitellius was roused from his state of stupefaction. He ordered Julius Priscus and

Alphenus Varus, at the head of fourteen prætorian cohorts, and the whole of the cavalry, to take possession of the Apennine mountains. A legion of marines was sent after them. A force so considerable, consisting of several thousand horse and foot, under any other general, would have been sufficient not only to withstand the enemy, but even to wage an offensive war. The cohorts, that remained for the defence of the city, were put under the command of Lucius Vitellius, the emperor's brother. The emperor, in the mean time, abated nothing from his habitual luxury. He began, however, with a precipitation that sprung from fear, to grant away whatever the state had to bestow. He hurried on the election of public magistrates, and appointed a succession of consuls for several years; he concluded treaties with the allies of Rome; he invested foreign cities with the privileges of Latium; he granted to some nations an exemption from all kinds of tribute, and to others immunities unheard of before; regardless of posterity, and, in all events, determined to exhaust the commonwealth. The populace applauded the liberality of the emperor. Some were weak enough to purchase favours, which, it was evident, could not last; while men of reflection saw, that lavish grants, which could neither be made nor accepted without distressing the public, must be declared null and void. At length Vitellius, urged by the importunity of the army, which lay encamped at Mevania (*a*), marched out of the city, attended by a numerous train of senators, all following with different motives; some to pay their court, and the greater part, afraid of

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giving jealousy to a prince who joined his army without any settled plan, in himself no resource, no decision, the ready dupe of every treacherous adviser.

LVI. Having reached the camp, Vitellius called an assembly of the soldiers. During his speech, a wonderful phænomenon engaged the attention of all. A flight of ill-omened birds hovered over his head, forming a cloud that obscured the day. This was followed by another prognostic of an alarming nature. A bull broke loose from the altar, and, trampling under foot all the preparations for the sacrifice, fled to a distant place, and there, on a spot where victims were never slain, was felled to the ground. But Vitellius, in his own person, presented a sight that exceeded every prodigy; a chief void of military knowledge, without judgment to plan, or courage to execute. He had not skill enough to explore the motions of the enemy, and to the art of avoiding or bringing on a general engagement he was an utter stranger. Every incident betrayed his ignorance or his pusillanimity. When messengers arrived, he turned pale, faltered in his gait, asked questions, trembled, and returned to his bottle. Weary at length of the camp, and terrified by the revolt of the fleet at Misenum, he went back to Rome, alarmed at every new event, yet never looking forward to the issue of the war. All opportunities were utterly lost by his folly. The true and obvious measure would have been, to pass over the Apennine with his whole force, and seek an enemy

distressed by the rigour of the winter season and a dearth of provisions. Instead of this, Vitellius suffered his army to be dispersed in different places, and, by that conduct, gave to the slaughtering sword a set of brave and gallant soldiers, whose valour and fidelity nothing could shake. The centurions saw the blunder, and the best amongst them, had they been consulted, were ready with honest advice. But the creatures of the court banished every faithful counsellor. The ear of Vitellius was open to flattery only: useful advice was harsh and grating; and nothing was welcome but what soothed his passions, while it led to sure destruction.

LVII. The revolt of the fleet at Misenum was occasioned altogether by the fraud of Claudius Faventinus; so much in civil commotions depends on the boldness of a single traitor. This man had been a centurion under Galba, and was by that emperor cashiered with ignominy. To seduce the men to his purposes, he forged letters from Vespasian, promising ample rewards to such as went over to his party. Claudius Apollinaris was, at that time, commander of the fleet; a man inclined to treachery, but wanting resolution to be forward in guilt. It happened that Apinius Tiro, who had discharged the office of prætor, was then at Minturnæ (*a*). He placed himself at the head of the revolters, and drew the neighbouring colonies and municipal towns into the confederacy. The inhabitants of Puteoli (*b*) declared with alacrity for Vespasian,

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while Capua, with equal vehemence, adhered to Vitellius. Those two cities had been long at variance, and now mingled with the rage of civil war all the rancour of their private animosities. In order to bring the revolters back to their duty, Vitellius fixed on Claudius Julianus, who had been præfect of the fleet at Misenum, and had the character of being mild in the exercise of his authority. He set out from Rome at the head of a city cohort, and a band of gladiators, over whom he had been, before that time, appointed commanding officer. He was no sooner in sight of the rebel camp, than he went over to Vespasian. The two parties, with their combined force, took possession of Tarracina, a city strong both by nature and art. In that place the revolters were more indebted for their security to the strength of the works, than to their own military talents.

LVIII. Vitellius, having received intelligence of these transactions, ordered part of his army to take post at Narnia (*a*), under the command of the prætorian præfects, while his brother Lucius Vitellius, at the head of six cohorts and five hundred horse, marched into Campania, to check the progress of the revolt. He himself, in the mean time, sunk into a state of languor, overwhelmed with despair and melancholy, till the generous ardour of the soldiers, and the clamours of the populace demanding to be armed, revived his drooping spirits. He flattered himself, that a turbulent multitude, bold in words, but without spirit in action,

would be equal to the regular legions. To a mere mob he gave the name of an army. His freedmen were his only advisers. In such as professed to be his friends, he reposed no confidence. The truth is, all of that class, the higher they stood in rank, were the more ready to betray. By the advice of his servile counsellors, he ordered the people to be assembled in their tribes (*b*). As they came forward to enroll their names, he received the oath of fidelity; but the crowd pressing too thick upon him, he grew weary of the task, and left the business of completing the new levy to the two consuls. The senators were required to bring in a quantity of silver, and a certain number of slaves. The Roman knights made a voluntary offer to serve with their lives and fortunes. The freedmen, in a body, desired to be admitted to the same honour. This humour continued, till what at first proceeded from servility and fear grew serious in the end, and became real ardour. The greater part, notwithstanding, felt no affection for the prince; indifferent about the man, they grieved to see the humiliating condition to which the empire was reduced. Vitellius, on his part, omitted nothing that could conciliate the public favour. He appeared with a dejected air; he spoke in a pathetic tone; he tried the force of tears; he made ample promises, lavish of words, and, as is usually the case with men in distress, generous beyond all bounds. He now desired to assume the title of Cæsar. His superstitious veneration for a name, in which he thought there was something sacred, made him willing to accept what

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he had often rejected. The public clamour was an additional motive. The populace thought it proper, and, in cases of extreme danger, the voice of the rabble is equal to the wisest counsels. But the spirit, which at the flood was violent, soon began to ebb away. The senators and knights fell off by degrees, at first, in the absence of the prince, watching their opportunity with care and caution; but, in the end, not even managing appearances, with open and avowed indifference. Vitellius gave up his cause for lost. He saw that the prince demands in vain, when the people are no longer willing to comply.

LIX. By taking possession of Mevania (*a*), Vitellius had struck all Italy with terror. The war seemed to revive with redoubled vigour, but, by his dastardly flight from the camp, he lost every advantage. Vespasian's interest gained additional strength. The people, throughout the country, went over to his party with uncommon ardour. The Samnites, the Pelignians, and the Marsians (*b*), saw, with regret, the prompt alacrity with which the inhabitants of Campania had taken the lead in the revolt; and, to atone for their own remissness, declared for Vespasian with all the vehemence which a new passion inspires. Meanwhile, the army, in passing over the Apennine, suffered every extremity from the rigour of the winter. The difficulty with which, though unmolested by the enemy, they laboured through a waste of snow, plainly shows the dangers that surrounded them, if fortune, no less

propitious to Vespasian than the wisdom of his counsels, had not drawn Vitellius from his post. During the march over the mountains, Petilius Cerealis, in the disguise of a common peasant, presented himself to the general. Being well acquainted with the course of the country, he had been able to elude the pursuit of the Vitellians. As he had the honour of being allied to Vespasian, and was besides an officer of distinguished merit, he was not only well received, but ranked with the commanders in chief. The writers of that day inform us, that Flavius Sabinus, and Domitian, had it in their power to escape out of Rome. Antonius, it is said, by his emissaries, invited them to a place of safety; but Sabinus declined the offer, alleging his ill state of health, and his want of vigour for so bold an enterprise. Domitian was not deficient either in spirit or inclination. Even the guards, appointed by Vitellius to watch his motions, offered to join his flight; but he suspected an underhand design to draw him into a snare, and, for that reason, made no attempt. His fear, however, was ill founded. Vitellius felt a tender regard for his own family, and on their account meditated nothing against the life of Domitian.

LX. The army pursued their march as far as Carsulæ (*a*). At that place the generals thought fit to halt for some days, as well to rest the troops, as to wait the arrival of the eagles and standards of the legions. The situation afforded a pleasant spot for their camp, with an open champaign country on

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every side, abounding with plenty, and behind them a number of opulent and flourishing cities. Being then not more than ten miles distant from the Vitellian forces, they hoped, by intrigue and secret negotiation, to induce the whole party to lay down their arms. But the soldiers were impatient of delay. They wished to end the war by victory, not by compromise. They desired to be led against the enemy, before the arrival of their own legions, who would be sure to claim a share of the booty, though their assistance was not wanted. Antonius called the men together, and, in a public harangue, informed them, "that Vitellius had still numerous forces in "reserve, all willing, if left to their own reflection, "to hearken to terms of accommodation; but des-"pair might rouse their courage. In the first move-"ments of a civil war, much must be left to chance. "To complete the conquest, is the province of "wisdom and deliberate counsels. The fleet at Mi-"senum, with the whole region of Campania, the "fairest part of Italy, had already declared for Ves-"pasian. Of the whole Roman world, the tract that "lies between Narnia and Tarracina was all that "remained in the hands of Vitellius. By the victory "at Cremona enough of glory had been gained, and, "by the demolition of that city, too much disgrace. "Rome still flourishes in all its grandeur. To save "that city, the seat of empire, from the like calamity, "would be more for their honour than the wild "ambition of taking it by assault. Their fame would "stand on a more solid basis, and their reward "would be greater, if, with the spirit of citizens,

"and without further effusion of blood, they pro-
"tected the rights of the senate, and the Roman
"people."

LXI. By these remonstrances the fury of the soldiers was appeased. The legions arrived soon after, and, by the fame of their united force, struck the Vitellians with dismay. To hold out to the last extremity, was no longer the advice or exhortation of the officers. To surrender was thought the best measure. Numbers saw the advantage of going over to the enemy with their companies of foot, or their troops of horse, and by that service hoped to merit better terms for themselves. Advice was received, that four hundred of the enemy's cavalry were stationed in the neighbourhood, in garrison at *Interamna* (*a*). Varus, at the head of a detached party, marched against them. All who resisted were put to the sword; the greater part laid down their arms, and begged quarter. Some fled in a panic to the camp at Narnia, and there, by magnifying the numbers and courage of the enemy, endeavoured to palliate their own disgrace. In the Vitellian army defection and treachery went unpunished: guilt had nothing to fear from the officers, and from the victors it met with a sure reward. Who should be the most expeditious traitor was now the only struggle. The tribunes and centurions deserted in open day, while the common soldiers adhered to Vitellius with undaunted resolution; but, at length, Priscus and Alphenus (*b*) gave the finishing blow to all their hopes. Those two officers abandoned the camp, in

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order to return to Vitellius, and by that step made the apology of all, who, being left without a leader, went over to the side of the strongest.

LXII. During these transactions, Fabius Valens was put to death in prison at Urbinum (*a*). A report had been spread abroad, that he made his escape into Germany, and was there employed in raising an army of veterans to renew the war. To clear up that mistake, and crush at once the hopes of the Vitellians, his head was exposed to public view. At the sight of that unexpected object, the enemy sunk down in deep despair, while the Flavian party considered that event as the end of all their labour.

Fabius Valens was a native of Anagnia, descended from a family of equestrian rank. His manners were corrupt and profligate, but to his vices he united no small degree of genius. A libertine in the pursuit of pleasure, he acquired an air of gaiety, and passed for a man of polite accomplishments. In the interludes, called Juvenalia (*b*), which were exhibited in the reign of Nero, he appeared among the pantomime performers, at first with seeming reluctance, but afterwards, of his own choice, displaying talents, that gained applause, while they disgraced the man. Rising afterwards to the command of a legion under Verginius, he paid his court to that commander, and betrayed him. He seduced Fonteius Capito (*c*), or, perhaps, found him incorruptible, and, for one of those reasons, murdered him. False to Galba (*d*), yet faithful to Vitellius, he exhibited, in the last

stage of life, a contrast to the general depravity of the times. The perfidy of others raised his reputation.

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LXIII. The Vitellians, seeing all hopes cut off, determined to submit to the conqueror, and, accordingly, to the utter disgrace of the party, descended into the plains of Narnia, with their colours displayed, there to make a voluntary surrender. Vespasian's army was drawn up in order of battle. They formed their lines on each side of the public road, and in the intermediate space received the vanquished troops. Antonius addressed them in a speech, that breathed moderation and humanity. They were quartered at different places; one division at Narnia, and the other at Interamna. A party of the victorious legions were stationed near them, not with a design to insult or irritate men in distress, but, in case of need, to preserve peace and good order. Antonius and Varus, in the mean time, did not neglect the opportunity of negociating with Vitellius. By frequent messengers they offered for himself a supply of money, and a safe retreat in Campania, upon condition that he should lay down his arms, and surrender himself and his children to the discretion of Vespasian. Letters to the same effect were also sent to him by Mucianus. Vitellius listened to these proposals. He even went so far, as to amuse himself with settling the number of his train, and to talk of the spot on the sea-shore where he intended to fix his retreat. Such was the stupidity that benumbed his faculties: if others would not remember that he had been emperor of Rome, he himself was willing to forget it.

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LXIV. At Rome, in the mean time, the leading men endeavoured, by secret exhortations, to incite Flavius Sabinus, the præfect of the city, to take an active part in the approaching revolution, and claim a share in the fame and splendour of so great an event. "The city cohorts," they said, "were all "devoted to him; the soldiers of the night-watch "(a) would join them; and their own slaves might "be called forth. Every thing favoured the enter-"prise, and nothing could withstand the victorious "arms of a party, in whose favour fortune had "already decided. Why leave to Varus and Anto-"nius the whole glory of the war? Vitellius had "but a few cohorts left, a mere handful of men, "alarmed at the news from every quarter, and over-"whelmed with fear. The minds of the populace "were always wavering, fond of change, and ready "to shift to the side of the strongest. Let Sabinus "show himself, and the acclamations, now given to "Vitellius, would be as loud for Vespasian. As to "Vitellius, the tide of prosperity overpowered him; "what must now be his case, when he sees destruc-"tion on every side? To end the war, be master of "Rome; that will consummate all, and the merit as "well as the glory will be yours. Who so fit as "Sabinus to secure the sovereign power for his "brother? And whom can Vespasian, with so much "propriety, wish to see the second man in the em-"pire?"

LXV. These temptations, bright as they were, made no impression on Sabinus. Enfeebled by old

age, he was no longer alive to motives of ambition. His inactivity was by some imputed to a jealous spirit, that wished to retard the elevation of his brother. Sabinus was the elder, and, while both remained in a private station, always took the lead, superior not only in point of fortune, but also in the opinion of the public. When Vespasian stood in need of pecuniary assistance, Sabinus supported his credit, but, according to report, secured himself by a mortgage (*a*) on his brother's house and lands. From that time they lived on good terms, preserving the exteriors of friendship, while mutual animosity was supposed to be suppressed in silence. Such were the suspicions that prevailed at the time. The fair and probable construction is, that Sabinus, a man of a meek disposition, wished to spare the effusion of blood, and, with that intent, held frequent conferences with Vitellius, in order to compromise the dispute, and settle the terms of a general pacification. We are told, that, having agreed, in private, on the preliminary articles, they ratified a final treaty in the temple of Apollo (*b*), in the presence of Cluvius Rufus (*c*) and Silius Italicus (*d*), who attended as witnesses. The scene was not without a number of spectators, who stood at a distance, watching the looks and behaviour of the contracting parties. Vitellius showed in his countenance an air of sorrow and abject humility. Sabinus scorned to insult a man in distress; he seemed to feel for the unfortunate.

LXVI. Vitellius had long since divested himself

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of every warlike passion, and, if to persuade others had been as easy as to degrade himself, Vespasian's army might have taken possession of the city of Rome unstained with blood. But his friends were still firm in his interest; their zeal was not to be subdued; they rejected all terms of accommodation, and with warmth protested against a peace, which brought with it no security, but depended altogether on the will and pleasure of the conqueror. "Was "it probable that Vespasian would have the mag-"nanimity to let his rival live secure in a private "station? Would the vanquished bear it? The friends "of a fallen emperor would commiserate his case, "and that commiseration would be his certain ruin "(*a*); the ruin, it was true, of a man advanced in "years, who had seen the vicissitudes of good and "evil fortune. But what would be the situation of "his son? What name, what rank, what character "could be bestowed on him, who had been already "honoured with the title of Germanicus? The pre-"sent offer promises a supply of money, a house-"hold train, and a safe retreat in the delightful re-"gions of Campania: but when Vespasian seizes "the imperial dignity, neither he, nor his friends, "nor even his armies, will think themselves secure, "till, by the death of a rival, they crush the seeds "of future contention. Even Fabius Valens, though "a prisoner, and, while they feared a reverse of for-"tune, reserved as a pledge in the hands of the "enemy, was thought at last too formidable, and for "that reason he fell a sacrifice. And is it to be ima-"gined, that Antonius, and Fuscus, or Mucianus,

"that pillar of the party, will not make the same use "of their power over Vitellius? Pompey was pursued "to death by Julius Cæsar, and Mark Anthony by "Augustus. But, perhaps, superior sentiment and "true greatness of soul are to be expected from "Vespasian! Let us not deceive ourselves. He is "now a new man, formerly the client (*b*), the creature "of Vitellius, who, at that time, was joined in the "consulship with the emperor Claudius. All motives "conspire to rouse and animate the emperor: the "dignity of an illustrious line, the office of censor, "three consulships held by his father, with the va-"rious honours heaped on his family. These are "powerful incentives. They call aloud for some "bold effort of courage, or, at the worst, of brave "despair. The soldiers are still determined to meet "every danger, and the fidelity of the people nothing "can alter. In all events, no calamity can be so bad "as that, into which Vitellius seems willing to "plunge himself. If vanquished, we must perish by "the sword; if we surrender, what will be the case? "An ignominious death. To choose between infamy "and glory, is all that now remains. The only ques-"tion is, Shall we tamely resign our lives, amidst "the scorn and insolence of the enemy? or shall we "act like men, and die sword in hand with honour "and applause?"

LXVII. Vitellius was deaf to every manly sentiment. An obstinate resistance might render the conqueror inexorable to his wife and children, and that consideration overpowered him with grief and ten-

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derness. His mother was now no more. Worn out with age, she died a few days before, happy not to behold the downfal of her family. From the elevation of her son she derived nothing, except the anxiety that preyed on her spirits, and the fame of a blameless character. On the fifteenth before the calends of January (*a*), the defection of the legions and cohorts that surrendered at Narnia, reached the ears of Vitellius. On receipt of that dismal intelligence, he went forth from his palace in mourning apparel (*b*), surrounded by his family in deep affliction. His infant son was carried in a small litter, with all the appearance of a funeral ceremony. The populace followed in crowds, with unavailing shouts, and flattery out of season. The soldiers marched in sullen silence.

LXVIII. In that vast multitude, no man was so insensible of the events and sudden revolutions of human life, as not to be touched by the misery of the scene before him. They saw an emperor, but a little before master of the Roman world, abandoning his palace, and, in the midst of a vast crowd of citizens assembled round him, proceeding through the streets of Rome to abdicate the imperial dignity. No eye had seen a spectacle so truly affecting; no ear had heard of so dismal a catastrophe. Cæsar, the dictator, fell by sudden violence; Caligula perished by a dark conspiracy; Nero fled through devious paths, while the shades of night concealed his disgrace; Piso and Galba may be said to have died in battle. Vitellius, before an assembly of the people called by himself, in the midst of his own soldiers,

and in the presence of a concourse of women, who beheld the sad reverse of fortune, by his own act deposed himself. In a short but pathetic speech, he declared his voluntary abdication. "I retire," he said, "for the sake of peace and the good of the "commonwealth; retain me still in your memory, "and view with an eye of pity the misfortunes of "my brother, my wife, and infant children. I ask "no more." He raised his son in his arms, and showed him to the people; he turned to individuals; he implored the compassion of all. A gush of tears suppressed his voice: in that distress, taking his sword from his side, and addressing himself to Cæcilius Simplex (*a*), the consul, who stood near him, he offered to deliver it into his hands, as the symbol of authority over the lives of the Roman citizens. The consul refused to accept it, and the people, with violent uproar, opposed his resignation. Vitellius left the place. His intention was to lay down all the ensigns of sovereignty in the temple of Concord (*b*), and seek a humble retreat in his brother's house. This again met with a strong opposition from the populace. The general cry was, that the house of a private citizen was not a proper mansion: all insisted on his returning to the palace. The crowd obstructed the streets, and no pass was left open, except that called the *Sacred Way*. In confusion, distracted, and left without advice, Vitellius returned to the palace.

LXIX. The abdication of the prince was soon known throughout the city. Upon the first intelli-

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gence, Flavius Sabinus sent orders in writing to the tribunes of the cohorts, commanding them to restrain the violent spirit of the soldiers. The leading members of the senate, as if the whole power of the state was falling at once into the hands of Vespasian, went in a body to the house of Sabinus. A numerous band of the equestrian order, with the city soldiers, and the night watch, followed the example of the fathers. They were there informed of the zeal of the people for Vitellius, and the menaces thrown out by the German cohorts. Sabinus was too far advanced to think of a retreat. Individuals trembled for themselves: if they dispersed, the Vitellians might seize the opportunity to lay a scene of blood. To prevent that terrible disaster, they urged Sabinus to take up arms, and show himself in force to the people. But, as often happens in pressing exigencies, all were ready to advise, and few to share the danger. Sabinus went forth at the head of a band of soldiers. Near the Fundane lake (*a*), a bold and resolute party of the Vitellians advanced against him. A skirmish ensued. The Vitellians had the advantage. Sabinus retreated to the fort of the capitol, and in that strong hold shut himself up with his soldiers, and a small party of senators and Roman knights. A list of their names cannot be given with any precision, as numbers afterwards, in the reign of Vespasian, assumed a share of merit in that transaction. There were even women who dared to defy the danger of a siege. Among these the most distinguished was Verulana Gracilia, a woman of high spirit, who had neither

children nor relations to attract her, but acted entirely on the impulse of her own intrepid genius. The Vitellians invested the citadel, but guarded the passes with so much negligence, that Sabinus, in the dead of night, was able to receive into the place his own children (*b*), and Domitian, his brother's son. At the same time, he sent dispatches to the victorious army, to inform the chiefs of his situation, and the necessity of immediate relief. The besiegers attempted nothing during the night. Had Sabinus taken advantage of their inactivity, he might have made his escape through the passes neglected by a ferocious enemy, bold and resolute, but scorning all regular discipline, and impatient of fatigue. It happened, besides, that a storm of rain fell with all the violence of the winter season. During the tempest, the men could neither see nor hear one another.

LXX. At the dawn of day, before hostilities commenced, Sabinus dispatched Cornelius Martialis, a principal centurion, with instructions to represent to Vitellius the treachery of his conduct, in open violation of a solemn treaty. "The late abdi-
"cation was no better than a state farce, played in
"the face of mankind, to deceive the most illus-
"trious citizens. For what other purpose did he
"wish to withdraw to his brother's house, so situ-
"ated as to overlook the forum, and attract the eyes
"of the public? Why not rather choose the mansion
"of his wife, a sequestered station near mount
"Aventine? For him, who renounced the sovereign

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"power, a place of obscurity was the fittest. But "Vitellius sought the very reverse: he returned to "his palace, the citadel, as it were, of the empire, "and thence sent forth a military force to deluge "the best part of the city with innocent blood. Even "the capitol was no longer a sanctuary. During the "rage of civil war, while the fate of empire hung "suspended between Vespasian and Vitellius; while "the legions drenched their swords in the blood of "their fellow citizens; while cities were taken by "storm, and whole cohorts laid down their arms; the "part which Sabinus acted, was that of a senator "and a civil magistrate. Both the Spains, the Upper "and Lower Germany, and all Britain had revolted; "and yet the brother of Vespasian preserved his "fidelity to the reigning prince. If at length he en-"tered into a negotiation, Vitellius invited him to "the meeting. The stipulated terms were advan-"tageous to the vanquished; and to the conqueror "brought nothing but fame and honour. If Vitellius "repented of that transaction, why point his arms "against Sabinus, who had been the dupe of insidious "policy? Why besiege the son of Vespasian, a youth "not yet grown up to the age of manhood (a)? By the "murder of an old man, and the death of a stripling, "what advantage could be gained? It would be more "for the honour of Vitellius to make head against "the legions, and decide the contest in the field of "battle. A single victory would end the war, and "every thing would fall to the lot of the conqueror." Vitellius listened to this remonstrance with visible marks of fear. He endeavoured in few words to clear

his own conduct, imputing the whole mischief to the soldiers, whose intemperate zeal was no longer subject to his authority. He advised Martialis to depart through a private part of the house, lest the soldiers in their fury should destroy the negotiator of a peace which they abhorred. He himself remained in his palace, unable to command or to prohibit any measure whatever; a mere phantom of power, no longer emperor, but still the cause of civil dissension.

LXXI. Martialis had no sooner entered the capitol, than the Vitellian soldiers appeared before it; no chief to lead them on; all rushing forward with impetuous fury, and every man his own commanding officer. Having passed the forum, and the temples (*a*) that surround it, they marched up the hill that fronts the capitol, and, after halting there to form their ranks, advanced in regular order to the gates of the citadel. On the right side of the ascent, a range of porticos had been built in ancient times. From the top of those edifices the besieged annoyed the enemy with stones and tiles. The assailants had no weapons but their swords. To wait for warlike engines seemed a tedious delay to men impatient for the assault. They threw flaming torches into the portico nearest at hand; and, seeing the destruction made by the devouring flames, were ready to force their way through the gate (*b*), if Sabinus had not thrown into a heap all the statues that adorned the place, and with those venerable monuments of antiquity blocked up the passage. The Vitellians push-

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ed on the assault in two different quarters; one near the grove of the asylum (*c*), and the other near the hundred steps of the Tarpeian rock (*d*). Both attacks were unforeseen. Near the asylum-grove the affair grew serious. On that side of the hill, the houses, which had been built during a long peace, were raised as high as the foundation of the capitol. The besiegers climbed to the top of those buildings, in spite of every effort to stop their progress. The roofs were immediately set on fire, but whether by the besieged, or the besiegers (*e*), is uncertain. The current opinion ascribed it to the former. The flame soon reached the contiguous porticos, and, in a short time, spread to the eagles (a set of pillars so called) that supported the buildings. The wood, being old and dry, was so much fuel to increase the fire. In the conflagration that followed, the capitol, with all its gates shut, and neither stormed by the enemy, nor defended by Sabinus, was burnt to the ground.

LXXII. From the foundation of the city to that hour, the Roman people had felt no calamity so deplorable, no disgrace so humiliating. Without the shock of a foreign enemy, and, if we except the vices of the age, without any particular cause to draw down the wrath of heaven, the temple of Jupiter, supreme of gods; a temple, built in ancient times (*a*) with solemn rites and religious auspices, the pledge of future grandeur; which neither Porsena (*b*), when Rome surrendered to his arms, nor the Gauls (*c*), when they took the city by storm, had dared to violate; that sacred edifice was now

demolished by the rage of men contending for a master to reign over them. The capitol, it is true, was once before destroyed by fire during the violence of a civil war (*d*); but the guilt was then confined to the treachery of a few incendiaries, the madness of evil-minded men. In the present juncture it was besieged with open hostility, and in the face of day involved in flames. And what adequate motive? what object in view to atone for so wild a phrensy? Was the sword drawn in the cause of public liberty?

Tarquinius Priscus, during the war which he waged against the Sabines, bound himself by a vow to build that sacred structure. He afterwards laid the foundation, on a plan suggested by his own vast idea of the rising grandeur of the empire, but inconsistent with the circumstances of an infant state. Servius Tullius, assisted by the zeal of the allies of Rome, went on with the work, and after him Tarquin the proud, with the spoils of Suessa Pometia (*e*), added to the magnificence of the building. But the glory of completing the design was reserved for the æra of liberty, when kings were deposed and banished for ever. It was under the republic that Horatius Pulvillus (*f*), in his second consulship, performed the ceremony of dedicating the temple, at that time finished with so much grandeur, that the wealth of after ages could do no more than grace it with new embellishments: to its magnificence nothing could be added. Four hundred and fifteen years afterwards, in the consulship of Lucius Scipio and Caius Norbanus (*g*), it was burnt to the ground,

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and again rebuilt on the old foundation. Sylla, who in that juncture had triumphed over all opposition to his arms, undertook the care of the building: the glory of dedicating it would have crowned his felicity (*h*); but that honour was reserved for Lutatius Catulus (*i*), whose name, amidst so many noble monuments of the Cæsars, remained in legible characters till the days of Vitellius. Such was the sacred building, which the madness of the times reduced to ashes.

LXXIII. The fire, when it first began to rage, threw the combatants into the utmost confusion, but on the part of the besieged the distress was greatest. The Vitellian soldiers, in the moment of difficulty, wanted neither skill nor courage. In the opposite party the men were seized with a panic, and the commander had neither spirit nor presence of mind. Benumbed and torpid, he lost his powers of speech, and even the faculties of eyes and ears. No resources in himself, he was deaf to the advice of others. Alarmed by every sudden noise, he went forward, he returned; he ordered what he had forbidden, and countermanded what he had ordered. In this distraction all directed, and none obeyed. They threw down their arms, and each man began to shift for himself. They fled, they hid themselves in lurking-places; the Vitellians burst in with fire and sword; a scene of carnage followed. A few gallant spirits made a brave resistance, and perished in the attempt. The most distinguished were Cornelius Martialis, Æmilius Pacensis, Casperius Niger, and Didius

Scævâ: all these met their fate with undaunted courage. Flavius Sabinus, without his sword, and not so much as attempting to save himself by flight, was surrounded by a band of the Vitellians. Quinctius Atticus (*a*), the consul, was also taken prisoner. The ensigns of his magistracy discovered him to the soldiers; and the haughty style in which he had issued several edicts, in their tenour favourable to Vespasian, and injurious to Vitellius, made him an object of resentment. The rest by various stratagems made their escape; some in the disguise of slaves; others assisted by the fidelity of their friends, and by their care concealed under the baggage. A few, who had caught the military word by which the Vitellians knew each other, used it with confidence in their questions and answers to all that came in their way. The boldness of the experiment saved their lives.

LXXIV. Domitian, on the first irruption of the besiegers, was conveyed to the apartments of the warden of the temple, and there protected till one of his freedmen had the address to conduct him, clad in a linen vestment, amidst the band of sacrificers, to the place called *Velabrum*, where he lodged him safe under the care of Cornelius Primus, a man firmly attached to Vespasian. Domitian, during the reign of his father, threw down the warden's lodge, and on the same spot built a chapel to JUPITER THE CONSERVATOR, with a marble altar, on which the story of his escape was engraved at length. Being afterwards invested with the imperial dignity, he dedicated a magnificent temple to JUPITER THE

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GUARDIAN, and a statue representing the god with the young prince in his arms. Sabinus and Quinctius Atticus were conducted in fetters to the presence of Vitellius. He received them without a word of reproach, or so much as an angry look, though the soldiers, with rage and vociferation, insisted on their right to murder both, demanding, at the same time, the reward due to them for their late exploits. The inferior populace, with violent uproar, called for immediate vengeance on Sabinus, not forgetting to mingle with their fury the language of adulation to Vitellius, who endeavoured to address them from the stairs of the palace: but the storm was too outrageous. The mob fell upon Sabinus. He died under repeated blows. The assassins cut off his head, and dragged the mangled body to the common charnel.

LXXV. Such was the end of a man who merited a better fate. He had carried arms five-and-thirty years in the service of his country, distinguished by his civil and military conduct. His integrity and love of justice were never questioned. His fault was that of talking too much. In the course of seven years, during which he administered the province of Mæsia, and twelve more, while he was governor of Rome, malice itself could find no other blemish in his character. In the last act of his life he was condemned for inactivity and want of spirit; others saw in his conduct a man of moderation, who wished to prevent the effusion of Roman blood. Before the elevation of Vespasian, all agree that he was the

head and ornament of his family. That his fall was matter of joy to Mucianus, seems well attested. In general, his death was considered as an event of public utility, since all emulation between two men likely to prove dangerous rivals, one as the emperor's brother, and the other as a colleague in power, was now extinguished. The consul, Quinctius Atticus, was the next victim demanded by the populace. Vitellius opposed their fury. He thought himself bound in gratitude to protect a man, who, being interrogated concerning the destruction of the capitol, avowed himself the author of the misfortune, and by that truth, or well-timed lie, took upon himself the whole load of guilt, exonerating the Vitellian party.

LXXVI. During these transactions, Lucius Vitellius, having pitched his camp in the neighbourhood of Feronia (*a*), formed a design to storm the city of Tarracina. The garrison, consisting of marines and gladiators, remained pent up within the walls, not daring to sally out and face the enemy in the open field. The gladiators, as has been mentioned, were under the command of Julianus, and the marines under that of Apollinaris; two men, immersed in sloth and luxury, by their vices more like common gladiators than superior officers. No sentinels stationed, no night-watch to prevent a sudden alarm, and no care taken to guard the works, they passed both day and night in drunken jollity. The windings of that delightful coast resounded with notes of joy, and the soldiers were spread about

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the country to provide for the pleasures of the two commanders, who never thought of war except when it became the subject over their bottle. Apinius Tiro had left the place a few days before, in order to procure supplies for the commanding officers. By exacting presents and contributions from the municipal towns, he inflamed the prejudices of the people, gaining ill will in every quarter, and for his party no accession of strength.

LXXVII. Things remained in this posture, when a slave belonging to Verginius Capito deserted to Lucius Vitellius, with an offer to head a detachment, and, by surprise, make himself master of the citadel, unprovided, as it then was, with a sufficient force to guard the works. His proposal was accepted. In the dead of night he set out with a party of light-armed cohorts, and, having gained the summit of the hill, took their station over the heads of the enemy. From that eminence the soldiers poured down with impetuous fury, not to a battle, but to a scene of carnage and destruction. They fell upon a defenceless multitude, the greatest part unarmed, some running to snatch up their weapons, others scarce awake, and all thrown into consternation by the general uproar, by the darkness, the clangor of trumpets, and the shouts of the enemy. A few of the gladiators made a brave resistance, and sold their lives at the dearest rate. The rest fled to the ships. Terror and confusion followed them. The peasants of the neighbourhood were intermixed with the troops, and altogether fell in one promiscuous slaughter. In the beginning

of the tumult, six light galleys broke loose from their moorings. On board of one of them, Apollinaris, the commander of the fleet, made his escape. The rest were either taken, or, by the weight of the crowd that rushed on board, sunk to the bottom. Julianus was conducted to Lucius Vitellius, and, in his presence, first ignominiously scourged, and then put to death. Triaria, the wife of Lucius the commanding officer, was accused of exulting with pride and cruelty amidst the carnage that laid waste the city of Tarracina. She is said to have appeared with a sword girt by her side, adding mockery and insult to the horrors of that tragic scene. The general, to mark so brilliant a victory, sent a letter wreathed with laurel (*a*) to his brother, desiring, at the same time, to know whether he should directly march forward to Rome, or stay to finish the entire reduction of Campania. The delay was of the greatest moment, not only to Vespasian's party, but to the commonwealth. A fierce and savage soldiery, flushed with success, and to their natural ferocity adding the insolence of victory, had they been immediately led to Rome, would, beyond all doubt, have renewed the war with dreadful havock, and, perhaps, the destruction of the city. On such an occasion, Lucius Vitellius was an officer to be dreaded. Though his character was decried and infamous, he wanted neither talents nor vigour of mind. Like all who succeed by prosperous wickedness, he had raised himself to eminence, and what good men obtain by their virtues he accomplished by his vices.

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LXXVIII. Meanwhile, Vespasian's army, inactive ever since their departure from Narnia, loitered away the time at Ocriculum (*a*), amusing themselves with the celebration of the Saturnalian festival (*b*). To wait for the arrival of Mucianus, was the ostensible reason for this ill-timed delay. Motives of a different nature were imputed to Antonius. Vitellius, it was said, had tampered with him by letters, and, to entice him from his party, promised the consulship, and his daughter in marriage with a splendid fortune. With a considerable number this accusation had no kind of weight. They treated it as a mere calumny, the invention of artful men, who wished to pay their court to Mucianus. Many were of opinion, that the whole was a deliberate plan, settled by all the general officers, who rather chose to alarm the city of Rome with distant terrors, than to carry desolation within the walls; especially since the strongest cohorts had abandoned Vitellius, and that prince, left as he was, without hopes of succour, would probably end the contest by a voluntary abdication. This design, however wise and prudent, was defeated, at first, by the rashness, and, in the end, by the irresolution, of Sabinus. That officer had taken up arms with a show of courage, and yet was not able, against so small a force as three cohorts, to defend the capitol; a fortress strong enough to stand the shock of powerful armies, and always deemed impregnable. But the truth is, where all were guilty of misconduct, the blame cannot well be fixed on any one in particular. Mucianus, by the studied ambiguity of his letters, checked the pro-

gress of the victorious army; and Antonius, by obsequious compliances, or, perhaps, with a design to blacken the character of Mucianus, was willing to incur the imputation of inactivity. The rest of the officers concluded hastily that the war was ended, and, by that mistake, occasioned all the disasters that closed the scene. Even Petilius Cerealis, who had been sent forward at the head of a thousand horse, with orders to proceed by rapid marches through the country of the Sabines, and to enter Rome by the Salarian road (*c*), did not push on with vigour. The chiefs heard, at last, that the capitol was besieged; and that intelligence roused them from their lethargy.

LXXIX. Antonius, in the night-time, made a forward movement towards the city of Rome. He pursued the Flaminian road, and, by a forced march, arrived at the RED ROCKS (*a*); but the mischief had already happened. At that place he received intelligence, that Sabinus was murdered; that the capitol lay smoking on the ground; that the populace, joined by the slaves, had taken up arms for Vitellius, and that all Rome was wild with consternation. At the same time, Petilius Cerealis met with a defeat. That general, despising an enemy whom he considered as already conquered, advanced incautiously to attack a party of horse and infantry. The battle was fought at a small distance from Rome, at a place where the land was divided into gardens, intersected by narrow roads, and covered with buildings; a spot well known to the Vitellians,

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but, to men unacquainted with the defiles, every way disadvantageous. Nor did the cavalry under Cerealis act with unanimity or equal ardour. They had among them a party of the men who laid down their arms at Narnia, and all of that description waited to see the issue of the battle. Tullius Flavianus, who commanded a squadron of Vespasian's horse, was taken prisoner. The rest fled with precipitation. The conquering troops pursued the runaways as far as Fidenæ (*b*).

LXXX. The success of the Vitellians in this engagement inspired the partisans at Rome with new courage. The populace had recourse to arms. A few were provided with shields; the rest snatched up whatever weapons fell in their way. With one voice they demanded the signal for the attack. Vitellius commended their zeal, and ordered them to exert themselves in the defence of the city. In the mean time he convened the senate. The fathers sent ambassadors to the several chiefs, with instructions to propose, in the name of the commonwealth, a plan of pacification. The deputies chosen for this purpose were variously received. In the camp of Petilius Cerealis they were in danger of their lives. The soldiers disdained all terms of accommodation, and, in their fury attacked the ambassadors. The prætor Arulenus Rusticus (*a*) was wounded. By this outrage the rights of ambassadors were violated, and, in the personal dignity of the man, virtue itself was insulted. The attendants in his train were obliged to fly. The lictor who

attempted to open a passage through the crowd, was murdered on the spot; and, if the guard appointed by Cerealis had not interposed in time, the law of nations, ever respected by the most hostile states, had been trampled under foot, and the ambassadors, in the face of their country, under the very walls of Rome, must have fallen victims to the brutal rage of frantic men. The deputies who went to the camp of Antonius met with a more gentle reception; but were indebted for it, not to the pacific temper of the soldiers, but to the authority of the commander in chief.

LXXXI. It happened that Musonius Rufus (*a*), a Roman knight, followed in the train of the ambassadors. He professed himself devoted to the study of philosophy, and in particular to the doctrines of the stoic sect. Full of his boasted system, he mixed among the soldiers, and, reasoning much concerning good and evil, began a dissertation on the blessings of peace, and the calamities of war. Men under arms, and fierce with victory, were not likely to relish a moral lecture. His pedantry tired the patience of the soldiers, and became a subject of ridicule. The philosopher was in danger of being roughly treated, if the advice of the more considerate, and the menaces of others, had not taught him to suppress his ill-timed maxims of wisdom.

The vestal virgins (*b*) went in procession to the camp, with letters from Vitellius addressed to Antonius, in substance requesting a cessation of arms for a single day. In the interval a compromise

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might take place, and prevent the havock of decisive action. The vestal train received every mark of respect. An answer in writing was sent to Vitellius, informing him, that the murder of Sabinus, and the destruction of the capitol, made all terms of accommodation inadmissible.

LXXXII. Antonius, in the mean time, called an assembly of the soldiers, and, in a soothing speech, endeavoured to infuse into their minds a spirit of moderation. He advised them to encamp at the Milvian bridge (*a*), and not to think of entering Rome till the next day. An enraged soldiery, forcing their way sword in hand, he had reason to fear, would rush on with impetuous fury, and give no quarter to the people or the senate. Even the temples and altars of the gods might fall in one promiscuous ruin. But the impatience of the army was not to be restrained. Eager for victory, they thought themselves ruined by delay. A display of colours and ensigns was seen glittering on the hills, followed, indeed, by an undisciplined rabble; but the appearance announced the preparations of an enemy. The conquerors advanced in three divisions; the first, from their station on the Flaminian road; the second marched along the banks of the Tiber; and the third, towards the gate Collina, by the Salarian way. On the first onset the mob was put to flight by the cavalry. The Vitellian soldiers ranged themselves in three columns. The entrance of the city was obstinately disputed. Several sharp engagements followed before the walls, with various

success, but, for the most part, favourable to Vespasian's men, supported as they were by able officers. A party wheeled round to the left side of the city, towards the Sallustian gardens, and, being engaged in slippery and narrow passes, were roughly handled. The Vitellians had taken possession of the gardens, and, from the top of the walls, were able, with stones and spears, to annoy the troops beneath them. The advantage was on their side, till, towards the close of day, a party of Vespasian's cavalry forced their way through the Collinian gate, and fell upon the enemy in the rear. A battle was also fought in the field of Mars. The good fortune that hitherto attended Vespasian's cause, gave him a decided victory. The Vitellians fought with obstinacy to the last. Despair lent them courage. Though dispersed and routed, they rallied within the walls of the city, and once more returned to the charge.

LXXXIII. The people flocked in crowds to behold the conflict, as if a scene of carnage were no more than a public spectacle exhibited for their amusement. Whenever they saw the advantage inclining to either side, they favoured the combatants with shouts, and theatrical applause. If the men fled from their ranks, to take shelter in shops or houses, they roared to have them dragged forth, and put to death like gladiators for their diversion. While the soldiers were intent on slaughter, these miscreants were employed in plundering. The greatest part of the booty fell to their share. Rome presented a

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scene truly shocking, a medley of savage slaughter and monstrous vice; in one place war and desolation; in another, bathing, riot, and debauchery. Heaps of slain lay weltering in the streets, and blood flowed in torrents, while harlots and abandoned women wandered about with lascivious impudence. Whatever the libidinous passions can inspire in the hour of peace, was intermixed with all the horrors of war, of slaughter, and destruction. The whole city seemed to be inflamed with frantic rage, and, at the same time, intoxicated with bacchanalian pleasures. Before this period, Rome had seen enraged armies within her walls; twice under Sylla (*a*), and once after the victory obtained by Cinna. Upon those occasions the same barbarity was committed; but the unnatural security and inhuman indifference that now prevailed, were beyond all example. In the midst of rage and massacre, pleasure knew no intermission. A dreadful carnage seemed to be a spectacle added to the public games. The populace enjoyed the havock; they exulted in the midst of devastation; and, without any regard for the contending parties, triumphed over the miseries of their country.

LXXXIV. Vespasian's party had now conquered every thing but the camp (*a*). That difficult and arduous task still remained. The bravest of the Vitellians were still in possession. They considered it as their last resort, and were therefore determined to make a vigorous stand. The conquering troops advanced with determined fury to the attack, and

the old prætorian cohorts with inflamed resentment. Whatever the military art had invented against places of the greatest strength, was employed by the assailants. They advanced under the shell; they threw up mounds; they discharged missive weapons and flaming torches; all declaring aloud, "that one "glorious effort would put an end to their toil and "danger. To the senate and the people of Rome "they had restored their city, and to the gods their "altars and their temples. It now remained to gain "possession of the camp, the soldier's post of "honour, his country, and the seat of his household "gods. They must either carry the entrenchments "by assault, or pass the night under arms." The spirit of the Vitellians was broken, but not subdued. To sell the victory at the dearest rate, and delay the return of peace, was the last effort of expiring rage; and to stain the houses and altars with an effusion of blood, was the last consolation of despair. The towers and ramparts were covered with heaps of slain. The gates of the camp were forced. The few that still survived had the courage to maintain their post. They fell under honourable wounds, prodigal of life, and to the last tenacious of their glory.

LXXXV. Vitellius, seeing the city conquered, went in a litter, by a private way at the back of the palace, to his wife's house on mount Aventine, with intent, if he could lie concealed during the rest of the day, to fly for refuge to his brother and the cohorts under his command at Tarracina. His natural irresolution returned upon him. He dreaded

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every thing, and, with the usual distraction of fear, what was present alarmed him most. He returned to his palace, and found it a melancholy desert. His slaves had made their escape, or shunned the presence of their master. Silence added to the terror of the scene. He opened the doors of his apartments, and stood aghast at the dreary solitude. All was desolation round him. He wandered from room to room, till his heart sunk within him. Weary, at length, of his wretched condition, he chose a disgraceful lurking-place (*a*), and there lay hid with abject fear, till Julius Placidus, the tribune of a cohort, dragged him forth. With his hands bound behind him, and his garment torn, he was conducted, a wretched spectacle, through crowds insulting his distress, and not a friend to pity his misfortunes. A catastrophe so mean and despicable moved no passion but contempt. A German soldier (*b*), either in wrath, or to end his misery, struck at him with his sabre, and, missing his aim, cut off the ear of a tribune. Whether his design was against that officer, cannot now be known. For his attempt he perished on the spot. Vitellius was dragged along amidst the scoffs and insults of the rabble. With swords pointed at his throat, they forced him to raise his head, and expose his countenance to scorn and derision; they made him look at his statues tumbling to the ground; they pointed to the place of public harangues, and showed him the spot where Galba perished. In this manner they hurried him to the charnel (*c*), where the body of Flavius Sabinus had been thrown amongst the vilest malefactors. An

expression fell from him, in the last extremity, that bespoke a mind not utterly destitute of sentiment. A tribune insulted him in his misery; "and yet," said Vitellius, "I have been your sovereign." He died soon after under repeated wounds. The populace, who had worshipped him in the zenith of his power, continued, after his death, with the same depravity, to treat his remains with every mark of scorn and insolence.

LXXXVI. He was the son, as already mentioned, of Lucius Vitellius, and had completed the fifty-seventh year of his age. He rose to the consulship, to pontifical dignities, and a name and rank among the most eminent citizens, without industry or personal merit. The splendid reputation of the father (*a*) laid open the road to honours for the son. The men who raised him to the imperial dignity, did not so much as know him. By his vices, and luxurious ease, he gained an ascendant over the affections of the army, to a degree rarely attained by the virtue of the ablest generals. Simplicity, frankness, and generosity must not be denied to him; but those qualities, when not under the curb of discretion, are always equivocal, and often ruinous. He endeavoured to conciliate friendships, not by his virtues, but by boundless liberality, and no wonder if he missed his aim: he deserved friends, but never had them. That his power should be overturned, was, no doubt, the interest of the commmonwealth; but the men who figured in that important scene could claim no merit with Vespasian, since, with equal versatility, they had been traitors to Galba.

BOOK III.

A. U. C. 822. A. D. 69.

The day being far spent, and the fathers and chief magistrates having either fled from the city in a panic, or concealed themselves in the houses of their friends, the senate could not be assembled. The rage of slaughter being appeased, and all hostilities ceasing, Domitian presented himself before the leaders of the party. He was saluted by the title of Cæsar, and a band of soldiers under arms conducted him to his father's house.

END OF BOOK III.

NOTES

ON

THE FIRST, SECOND, AND THIRD BOOKS

OF

THE HISTORY.

NOTES

ON

THE FIRST BOOK

OF

THE HISTORY.

SECTION I.

(*a*) TACITUS computes 820 years from the foundation of Rome to the end of Nero, when the following history begins. The battle of Actium was in the year of Rome 723; from that time the reigns of Augustus and the succeeding emperors form a period of 98 years to the end of Nero, who died A. U. C. 821.

(*b*) The history of Rome to the end of the republic, is emphatically called by Tacitus the history of the Roman people. From the battle of Actium, it is properly the history of the emperors.

(*c*) Tacitus was, probably, raised to the office of quæstor by Vespasian, and perhaps to the senatorian rank. Under Titus he advanced, in the regular gradation of the magistracy, to the functions either of tribune or ædile; and in the time of Domitian he was one of the quindecimviral college, as well as prætor. See Annals, xi. s. 11.

(*d*) It is evident from this passage that Tacitus published his History in the reign of Trajan, since Nerva is called the Deified Nerva, and the apotheosis of the emperors was always after their death. Nerva began his reign A. U. C. 849, and died in the year 851, when Trajan succeeded by adoption.

SECTION II.

(*a*) The history included the whole time from the first of Galba to the assassination of Domitian; and, for that reason, some of the commentators are of opinion that the four princes put to the sword are Galba, Otho, Vitellius, and Domitian. Others, observing that the whole of Domitian's reign is lost, adapt their notions to the present state of our author's work, and reckon Piso, who was adopted by Galba, one of the four murdered princes.

(*b*) The insurrection against Galba was an act of sudden violence; soon begun and ended. The three civil wars were as follows: 1. Otho and Vitellius: 2. Vitellius and Vespasian: 3. Lucius Antonius and Domitian, A. U. C. 845. The account of this last war is lost. All that can be collected at present is, that Antonius, who commanded the legions on the Upper Rhine, formed a league with some of the German nations, and declared war against Domitian. He hazarded a battle with Lucius Maximus, and met with a total overthrow. He was slain in the engagement. Suet. in Domitian, s. vi. The foreign wars that distracted the empire, during the rage of civil commotions, were, one in Judæa, and the other with Civilis, the Batavian chief.

(*c*) Britain was finally subdued in the reign of Domitian. See the Life of Agricola. It was afterwards neglected and almost lost.

(*d*) For the Sarmatians and the Suevians, see the Geographical Table.

(*e*) For more of the pretended Nero, see Hist. ii. s. 8. The Parthians were on the point of declaring war in favour of another impostor, who took the name of Nero in the reign of Titus, A. U. C. 834, and afterwards in the reign of Domitian, A. U. C. 841.

(*f*) The cities of Herculaneum and Pompeii were destroyed by an eruption of the lava of Mount Vesuvius, in the beginning of Titus's reign, A. U. C. 832.

(*g*) See the conflagration of the Capitol, Hist. iii. s. 67 and 71.

(*h*) Collectors of the imperial revenue were instituted by the emperors, in order to entrench on the power of the proconsuls, who were the proper officers in all the provinces that remained under the authority of the senate. Informers were raised to the office of imperial procurators, and obtained weight and influence in the cabinet. *Adepti procurationes et interiorem potentiam.*

(*i*) The treachery of friends was the scourge and pest of society for several years. Trajan repressed the mischief. See his praise for that public benefit in Pliny's Panegyric, s. 42. *Reddita est amicis fides, liberis pietas, obsequium servis.*

SECTION III.

(*a*) Some of the commentators have objected to the sentiment expressed by Tacitus in this place. Brotier calls it *atrox sententia.* But what is the fair construction? It is this: The crimes of the Roman people were such, that they could no longer expect the protection of the gods. They had drawn down the vengeance of heaven. Lucan has a similar sentiment:

> Felix Roma quidem, civesque habitura beatos,
> Si Libertatis superis tam cura fuisset,
> Quam vindicta placet.
>
> PHARSAL. lib. iv. ver. 107.

See Cicero to the same effect, De Nat. Deorum. lib. iii. s. 32.

SECTION IV.

(*a*) Galba, who was not arrived from Spain.

SECTION V.

(*a*) The prætorian guards had shown themselves, at all times, firmly attached to the Cæsarean family.

(*b*) For an account of Nymphidius and his rash ambition, see the Appendix to the Sixteenth Book of the Annals.

(*c*) The rigour with which Galba supported and enforced military discipline, is stated by Suetonius, in Galba, s. vi.

SECTION VI.

(*a*) For Titus Vinius and Cornelius Laco, see the Appendix to the Sixteenth Book of the Annals.

(*b*) For Galba's journey from Spain, the fate of Cingonius Varro, and Petronius Terpilianus, see Appendix to Annals, xvi.; and this book, s. xxxvii.

(*c*) See also in the same Appendix, an account of the slaughter committed near the gates of Rome by Galba's order; and this book, s. xxxvii.

(*d*) Nero had formed a new legion composed of men draughted from the marines. See this book, s. xxxi.

(*e*) The forces from Britain and Germany, which Nero had sent forward on a wild expedition to the straits of the Caspian Sea, were all recalled to quell the insurrection of Vindex in Gaul.

(*f*) See the Appendix to Annals, xvi.

(*g*) For the rebellion in Gaul, excited by the enterprising spirit and undaunted courage of Vindex, see Appendix to Annals, xvi.

SECTION VII.

(*a*) The murder of Fonteius Capito on the Lower Rhine, and of Clodius Macer in Africa, has been related in the Appendix to Annals, xvi.

(*b*) Galba, at his elevation to the imperial dignity, was seventy-three years old. See the Appendix to Annals, xvi.

SECTION VIII.

(*a*) Cluvius Rufus was a writer of history. Pliny the younger says, he told his friend Verginius, If you meet with any thing in my History that gives you offence, you will be so good as to remember, that History must not betray the cause of Truth. You know, replied Verginius, that whatever I have done, it has been ever my wish to have all my actions faithfully related by such a writer as yourself. Pliny, lib. ix. epist. 19.

(*b*) The people of Gaul, who stood for Vindex, were the Sequani, the Ædui, and the Arverni; for whom see the Geo-

graphical Table at the end of the Sixth Volume. The states that lay near the legions on the Upper and Lower Rhine, were the Lingones and the Remi. See the Geographical Table at the end of the Sixth Volume.

(*c*) The German armies obtained a complete victory over Vindex at Vesontium. See the Appendix to Annals, xvi.

(*d*) Verginius commanded the legions on the Upper Rhine. For an account of him and his conduct, see the Appendix to the Annals, xvi. s. 12. When he was recalled by Galba, Hordeonius Flaccus succeeded to the command.

Section IX.

(*a*) This was Vitellius, whom in the sequel we shall see emperor of Rome. Galba sent him to command on the Lower Rhine, while Hordeonius Flaccus, a man in years, and greatly afflicted with the gout, was likely to remain inactive in the province of Upper Germany. See Suet. in Vitellio, s. 7.

(*b*) The short reflection of Tacitus on the appointment of Vitellius, is understood two different ways by the commentators. According to some, the true reading is, *Id satis videbatur*, That by Galba was thought sufficient; according to others, *Id fatis videbatur*, The fates ordained it. The last is in the manner of Tacitus, and therefore adopted in the translation.

Section X.

(*a*) See the History, book ii. s. 1.

Section XI.

(*a*) It has been mentioned in former notes, that it was the policy of Augustus to keep the management of Egypt, the great corn-market of Rome, in his own hands. The expression of Tacitus is remarkable; *domi retinere*, to reserve the administration for his own cabinet council. See Annals, ii. s. 59.

(*b*) Tiberius Alexander is said to be a native of Egypt; but, to qualify him for the office of governor, he was made a

Roman knight. He was probably the same person who is mentioned, Annals, xv. s. 28.

(c) For Mauritania, Rhætia, Noricum, and Thracia, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Sixth Volume.

Section XII.

(a) Belgic Gaul began from the Scheld (*L'Escaut*) and extended to the river Sequana (the *Seine*). The revolt of the legions on the Upper Rhine is related by Suetonius, in Galba, s. 16.

Section XIII.

(a) Icelus, the favourite freedman, has been mentioned in the Appendix to Annals, xvi. s. 13. See Pliny the elder, lib. xxxiii. s. 2.

(b) For Otho's connection with Poppæa, see Annals, xiii. s. 45 and 46.

Section XIV.

(a) Suetonius says, *Pisonem Licinianum, nobilem egregiumque juvenem, ac sibi olim probatissimum, testamentoque semper in bona et nomen adscitum, repente è mediâ salutantium turbâ apprehendit, filiumque appellans, perduxit in castra, ac pro concione adoptavit.* Suet. in Galba, s. 17. According to this account, Galba was determined in his choice, and did not want the advice of Laco. He adopted Piso from inclination, *propriâ electione.* Plutarch, in the Life of Galba, gives the same account. For an account of Piso's pedigree, see Brotier, 4to edition, vol. iii. page 365.

Section XV.

(a) Romulus classed the citizens of Rome in thirty *curiæ*, and from that circumstance the *Lex Curiata* took its name. The law was enacted by the people assembled in their several curias. See Annals, xi. s. 22.

(b) Piso's father, mother, and brother were put to death by Claudius. Another brother (the conspiracy against Nero be-

ing detected) opened his veins and bled to death. See Annals, xv. s. 59.

SECTION XVIII.

(*a*) Thunder and lightning were always considered by the Romans as a warning not to transact public business. *Jove tonante, fulgurante, comitia populi habere nefas.* Cicero De Divinatione, lib. ii. s. 18.

(*b*) According to a military custom, established in an early period of the commonwealth, every Roman soldier chose his favourite comrade, and by that tie of friendship all were mutually bound to share every danger with their fellows. The consequence was, that a warlike spirit pervaded the whole army. See Livy, lib. ix. s. 39.

SECTION XX.

(*a*) See Suetonius, in Galba, s. 15.

SECTION XXI.

(*a*) See in Suetonius an account of Otho's circumstances, and his expensive luxury. Otho did not scruple to say, that nothing short of the imperial power could save him from utter ruin; and whether he died in battle, or fell a victim to his creditors, was immaterial. *Nisi principem se stare non posse; nihilque referre, ab hoste in acie, an in foro sub creditoribus caderet.* Suet. in Otho, s. 5. See also Plutarch, in the Life of Galba.

(*b*) Piso had been by Nero ordered into exile, and might probably return with a mind exasperated, and deep-smothered resentment, according to the verses made against Tiberius, during his retreat in the isle of Rhodes.

——— Regnabit sanguine multo
Ad regnum quisquis venit ab exilio.

SUET. in Tib. s. 59.

SECTION XXII.

(*a*) The character of Otho, as here delineated by the unerring pencil of Tacitus, is finely copied by Corneille in his

tragedy, entitled Otho. A review of the various passages, which are transplanted into the French play, would be an agreeable amusement to every reader of taste, but cannot be comprised within the limits of a note. It will be sufficient to state what Corneille himself has said in the preface to his tragedy. He makes it his boast that he translated as much as he possibly could; and it does not appear that the malignant critics of that day charged him with petty larceny, or railed at him with virulence for the use which he thought proper to make of a great historian. Corneille's words are as follows: *Le sujet de cette tragedie est tiré de Tacite, qui commence ses histoires par celle-ci... Les caracteres de ceux que j'y fais parler, y sont les mêmes que chez cet incomparable auteur, que j'ai traduit tant qu'il m'a été possible.*

Section XXVII.

(*a*) The place called *Velabrum* lay between the Forum and Mount Palatine. The *Millarium aureum* was at the upper part of the Forum. The Temple of Saturn was at the foot of the Capitoline Hill.

(*b*) See Suetonius, Life of Otho, s. 6.

Section XXX.

(*a*) See Juvenal's description of Otho's effeminacy, and his looking-glass, sat. ii. ver. 99.

Section XXXI.

(*a*) A portico built by Vipsanius Agrippa in the field of Mars. Horace says,

> ——————— Cum bene notum
> Porticus Agrippæ, et Via te conspexerit Appi.
>
> Hor. lib. i. epist. 6.

Section XXXV.

(*a*) Suetonius says, Galba put on his breast-plate, observing at the same time, that it would be a poor defence against so

many swords. Life of Galba, s. 19. Plutarch relates that the soldier, being asked by Galba, Who gave him orders, had the spirit to answer, "My oath and my duty."

SECTION XXXVI.

(*a*) In every Roman camp the statue of the emperor was placed in the tribunal, at the head quarters of the general. See Annals, xv. s. 29.

(*b*) The form of the military oath was as follows: *Jurant Milites, omnia se strenuè facturos, quæ præceperit imperator; nunquam deserturos militiam, nec mortem recusaturos pro Romanâ republicâ.* Vegetius, lib. ii. cap. 5.

SECTION XXXVII.

(*a*) See the Appendix to Annals, xvi.

(*b*) Polycletus, Vatinius, Helius, and Halotus were favourite freedmen, who rose to wealth and honours in the reign of Nero. For more of Halotus, see Suet. in Galba, s. 15.

(*c*) Vinius alone had amassed riches enough to discharge the donative, which had been promised to the soldiers by Nymphidius, in the name of Galba, but which was still withheld. See Appendix to Annals, xvi.

SECTION XLI.

(*a*) This was in the Forum, near the Rostra. It has been observed in a former note, that the Pulpit of Harangues was adorned with the beaks of ships, and thence called *Rostra.* For Galba's death and funeral, see Suetonius in Galba, s. 20.

SECTION XLII.

(*a*) Galba laboured under the weight of crimes committed by his minister, Titus Vinius, who is said to have been an accomplice in the plot, which was occasioned by his own iniquity.

SECTION XLIV.

(*a*) On seeing the head of Galba, Otho cried out, This is

nothing, my fellow soldiers: bring me the head of Piso. See Plutarch, Life of Galba.

Section XLVI.

(*a*) Flavius Sabinus had been appointed præfect of the city by Nero. The soldiers loved the vices of the former reign, and for that reason continued Sabinus in the same office. For more of Sabinus, see History, ii. s. 74 and 75; and Suet. in Vespasian, s. 1.

Section XLVII.

(*a*) The two consuls, Galba, and Vinius, being cut off, the power of convening the senate devolved to the city prætor. See Cicero's Epistles, lib. x. epist. 12.

(*b*) For Verania, the wife of Piso, see Pliny the consul, lib. ii. epist. 20.

(*c*) Crispina, the daughter of Vinius, bought her father's head at a great price from the bands of assassins. Plutarch, Life of Galba.

Section LXVIII.

(*a*) Calvisius Sabinus, mentioned in this place, was probably the person who, in Caligula's reign, commanded in Pannonia, and on his return to Rome, was compelled to end his days, A. U. C. 792. His wife Cornelia, whom we find abandoned to her libidinous passions, almost redeemed her character in the last act of her life. She perished with her husband. Seneca talks of a person of the name of Calvisius Sabinus, who, he says, did not know how to enjoy his success in the world with moderation; but whether that was the Sabinus of Tacitus is uncertain. *Nunquam vidi hominem beatum indecentius.* Seneca, epist. xxvii.

Section L.

(*a*) The battle of Pharsalia was A. U. C. 706; that of Mutina, between Marc Antony and the consuls Hirtius and Pansa,

711; of Philippi, in the year of Rome 712; and the siege of Perusia, A. U. C. 714.

(*b*) Vespasian, in the reign of Caligula, was a time-serving flatterer; and, being afterwards overwhelmed with debts, was a man of an equivocal character. See Suet. in Vespas. s. 2, 3, and 4.

Section LI.

(*a*) For the revolt of Vindex, and the overthrow of his army, see the Appendix to Annals, xvi.

Section LII.

(*a*) See Suetonius, in Vitellio, s. 7.

Section LVI.

(*a*) For Colonia Agrippinensis, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Sixth Volume.

Section LVII.

(*a*) The first legion was probably stationed at *Bonna*. See the Geographical Table at the end of the Sixth Volume.

Section LIX.

(*a*) For the legion called the Italic, see History, ii. s. 6, note (*c*).

(*b*) The Taurinian squadron was so called from the Taurini, or people of Turin. See the Geographical Table at the end of the Sixth Volume.

Section LX.

(*a*) For Trebellius Maximus, see Life of Agricola, s. 16.

Section LXI.

(*a*) The vast range of mountains called the Alps, separating Italy from Gaul and Germany, were divided into several parts, which have their distinct names, such as Cottian Alps, Penine Alps, &c. See the Geographical Table at the end of the Sixth Volume.

SECTION LXII.

(*a*) For the sloth, drunkenness, and other vices of Vitellius, see Suetonius, in Vitel. s. 17.

(*b*) Suetonius, in Vitel. s. 8.

SECTION LXIII.

(*a*) For Divodurum, and the Mediomatrici, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Sixth Volume.

SECTION LXIV.

(*a*) The original says, *in civitate Leucorum;* but it should be remembered that *civitas*, as used by Tacitus and other Roman writers, generally implies a state, and not a city in the modern acception of the word. For the Leuci, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Sixth Volume.

(*b*) See this book, s. 59.

(*c*) This cohort was usually quartered at Lyons. See Annals, iii. s. 41.

SECTION LXV.

(*a*) For the animosity that subsisted between the people of Lugdunum (*Lyons*) and the city of Vienne, see the Appendix to Annals, xvi; and for Vienne, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Sixth Volume.

(*b*) The people of Lyons waged war against Vindex, and on that account Galba made them feel his resentment.

(*c*) The cities of Lyons and Vienne were separated by the river Rhodanus, now the *Rhone*.

(*d*) The people of Vienne favoured the revolt of Vindex. See the Appendix to Annals, xvi.

SECTION LXVI.

(*a*) Olive branches and sacred vestments were usually displayed in cases of distress, when the conquered sued for mercy. So we read in Livy: *Ramos oleæ ac velamenta supplicum porrigentes, orare, ut reciperent sese, receptosque tutarentur.* Livy, lib. xxiv. s. 30.

SECTION LXVII.

(*a*) The territory of the Helvetii was a part of Celtic Gaul, more extensive than what is now called Switzerland. The people are celebrated by Julius Cæsar for their military virtue, and constant warfare with the Germans. *Helvetii reliquos Gallos virtute præcedunt, quod fere quotidianis præliis cum Germanis contendant, cum aut suis finibus eos prohibent, aut ipsi in eorum finibus bellum gerunt.* Cæsar Bell. Gall. lib. i. s. 1.

(*b*) Brotier says, this place was called in antient inscriptions, *Respublica aquensis*, on account of the salubrity of the waters. He supposes it to be what is now called *Baden*, in the territory of Switzerland.

SECTION LXVIII.

(*a*) For Mons Vocetius, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Sixth Volume.

(*b*) For Aventicum, see the Geographical Table.

SECTION LXX.

(*a*) The *Ala Syllana* was a body of cavalry, originally raised by Sylla. For the Padus (now the *Po*), see the Geographical Table at the end of the Sixth Volume.

(*b*) Vitellius had been proconsul in Africa, where he administered the affairs of the province with an unblemished reputation. Suetonius, in Vitell. s. 5.

(*c*) For the municipal cities here enumerated, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Sixth Volume.

(*d*) The squadron of horse, called *Ala Petrina*, had been stationed in Cumberland, as appears by a lapidary inscription set forth in Camden's Britannia.

(*e*) See the Geographical Table at the end of the Sixth Volume.

(*f*) Penine Alps; see the Geographical Table at the end of the Sixth Volume. The *Subsignanus Miles*, mentioned in this passage, means the soldier who fought under the colours, *Vexilla*, and not under the Eagles. The auxiliaries, the vete-

rans detained in the service, and the men draughted from the legions, were of this description.

Section LXXI.

(*a*) Otho, to appease the fury of the soldiers, had thrown Marius Celsus into prison. At that time, he could instigate the soldiers to perpetrate any atrocious deed, but to command them to forbear was not in his power. *Othoni nondum auctoritas inerat ad prohibendum scelus; jubere jam poterat.* See this book, s. xlv.

Section LXXII.

(*a*) Tigellinus has been often mentioned. See Annals, xiv. s. 57; xv. s. 37; and Appendix to Annals, xvi.

(*b*) For Sinuessa, see Annals, xii. s. 66; and see the Geographical Table at the end of the Sixth Volume.

Section LXXIII.

(*a*) For Calvia Crispinilla, see Appendix to Annals, xvi.; and see Plutarch, in Galba.

Section LXXV.

(*a*) Suetonius, in Vitell. s. 6.

Section LXXVII.

(*a*) The number of Consuls, in the course of this eventful year, was so great, that it will not be useless to place the list in one view before the eye of the reader.

A. U. C. 822.	Consuls.
On the Calends of January, Hist. i. s. 1.	Galba, Vinius.
Calends of March, Hist. i. s. 77.	Salvius Otho, Titianus Otho.
Calends of May, Hist. i. s. 77.	Verginius Rufus, Pompeius Vopiscus.
Calends of July, Hist. i. s. 77.	Cælius Sabinus, Flavius Sabinus.

A. U. C. 822.	Consuls.
Calends of September, Hist. i. s. 77.	Arrius Antoninus, Marius Celsus.
Calends of November, Hist. ii. s. 1.	Fabius Valens, Alienus Cæcina.

Cæcina being pronounced a traitor by the senate, on the day before the calends of January, A. U. C. 823, the consul for a single day, being the last of the year, was Rosius Regulus. Hist. iii. s. 37.

(*b*) Arrius Antoninus, who appears in the foregoing list of the consuls, was grandfather to Antoninus Pius, the upright and virtuous emperor. See letters to him by the younger Pliny, lib. iv. epist. 3 and 18; lib. v. epist. 10.

(*c*) For Cadius Rufus, see Annals, xii. s. 22. For Pedius Blæsus, see Annals, xiv. s. 18.

Section LXXVIII.

(*a*) For the cities of Hispalis and Emerita, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Sixth Volume.

(*b*) See Suetonius, Life of Otho, s. 7.

Section LXXXIV.

(*a*) This rule of military subordination stands confirmed by experience in every age and country. We read in Livy a speech of Paulus Æmilius to the same effect. *Unum imperatorem in exercitu providere et consulere, quid agendum sit, debere, nunc per se, nunc cum iis quos advocaverit in consilium. In quo exercitu, milites, consul, et imperator, rumoribus vulgi circumaguntur, ibi nihil salutare esse.* Livy, lib. xliv. s. 34.

Section LXXXVI.

(*a*) The isle in the Tiber, now called *Isola di St. Bartolomeo.*

(*b*) The Sublician Bridge, so called, because built with wood. A foundation of solid marble was laid afterwards, but nothing remains at present but the ruins.

SECTION LXXXVII.

(*a*) See Annals, xiii. s. 24.

SECTION LXXXVIII.

(*a*) See the Geographical Table at the end of the Sixth Volume.

SECTION LXXXIX.

(*a*) Furius Camillus Scribonianus commanded in Dalmatia, A. U. C. 795. Being a man of enterprise and bold ambition, he induced the soldiers to swear fidelity to himself, and went into open rebellion. His letters to the emperor Claudius were written in a tone of menance, requiring him to abdicate, and live a private citizen. In the mean time, the rebel legions, with the versatility common to the military mind, returned to their duty; Scribonianus fled to a small island of the Adriatic, on the coast of Illyricum, and there was seized and put to death by Volaginius, a common soldier, on the fifth day of his revolt. Suetonius, in Claudio, s. 35. See Tacitus, Hist. ii. s. 75.

(*b*) Numa, the founder of religious ceremonies, made the Romans believe, that as long as they preserved the celestial arms, called *Ancilia*, which, he said, were sent down by the gods, Rome would prove invincible, and triumph over all her enemies. Accordingly we read in Livy the procession of the Salian priests, on stated days, attending the Ancilia with song and dance through the streets of Rome. *Salios cælestia arma, quæ Ancilia appellantur, ferre, ac per urbem ire canentes carmina cum tripudiis solemnique saltatu jusserat Numa.* Livy, lib. i. s. 20. This institution was neglected by Otho. Suetonius, Life of Otho, s. 8.

SECTION XC.

(*a*) M. Valerius Trachalus was joint consul with Silius Italicus, A. U. C. 821. See Appendix to Annals, xvi.

(*b*) Otho left the city of Rome on the 24th day of March, as appears from Suetonius, who mentions his neglect of the institutions relating to the Ancilia, as an inauspicious beginning of the war. Suetonius adds, that he set out on the day when all who paid their worship to the mother of the gods began the usual ceremonies. Now that day was the 9th of the calends of April, which answers to the 24th of March. See Suetonius, Life of Otho, s. 8.

NOTES

ON

THE SECOND BOOK

OF

THE HISTORY.

Section I.

(*a*) TACITUS says that fortune was then laying the foundation of a new imperial house, which proved to be beneficial and disastrous to the people, and also to the very family that was raised to that pre-eminence. This is perfectly clear, when we consider, that Rome was happy under Vespasian and Titus, but groaned under Domitian, till the tyrant was destroyed, and the Flavian line was extinguished.

(*b*) Titus, at this time, was in his twenty-eighth year. By the favour of Narcissus, to whom Vespasian paid his court, Titus was educated in the palace with Britannicus, the son of Claudius. The prince, then destined by his father to succeed to the empire, was cut off by the villany of Nero; and Titus, whose elevation was not then foreseen, lived to be the delight of the Roman people.

(*c*) Suetonius tells us that Narcissus, the favourite freedman, consulted a fortune-teller about the destiny of Britannicus: the answer was unfavourable to the young prince, but assured Titus that he was born to the imperial dignity. Suetonius, in Tito, s. 2.

Section II.

(*a*) Berenice was sister to Agrippa II. and wife of Herod,

king of Chalcis, in Syria. For more of her, and her connexion with Titus, see Appendix to Hist. v. s. 21.

(*b*) When Titus no longer sails along the coast, but puts off to sea, Tacitus calls it a bolder voyage, *audentioribus spatiis;* an expression, which, in the present state of navigation, may provoke the smile of a mariner. The compass was not invented, and men did not like to lose sight of the shore.

(*c*) At the town of Paphos, which stood on the western side of the isle of Cyprus, a temple was dedicated to Venus, thence called the Paphian Venus. The account of the rites and ceremonies, which Tacitus gives us, has been condemned by some critics as an idle digression: but when it is considered that the history of superstition was not uninteresting to the Romans, this passage will not be thought improper. The great historian has been charged with irreligion; but the attention shown on this occasion, and many others, to the various modes of worship, may serve to vindicate his character.

Section III.

(*a*) Aerias has been mentioned in another place, as the founder of the Paphian temple: Annals, iii. s. 63. Tacitus adds, that the name of *Aerias* was applied by many to the goddess herself; and accordingly, Pausanias, lib. i. cap. 14, calls her Οὐρανίαν.

(*b*) Cinyras is said by Apollodorus to have been one of the kings of Assyria.

(*c*) Thamiras introduced the science of augury, which was founded altogether in deceit and fraud. Accordingly, we find that care was taken to keep it in the hands of two families, that the secret of the art might not transpire.

(*d*) This circumstance is mentioned by Pliny in his Natural History. *Celebre fanum habet Veneris Paphos, in cujus quandam aram non impluit.* Pliny, lib. ii. s. 96.

(*e*) The worship paid to Venus, as the parent of the whole animal creation, was of ancient date, and known for ages to

the Assyrians. The rude state of sculpture may, perhaps, account for the representation of the goddess, as described by Tacitus. Clemens of Alexandria makes that observation. The statuary, he says, had not the skill to give the elegance of symmetry and proportion; he therefore left the form and delicacy of Venus to the imagination. As Ovid says, *si qua latent, meliora putat.*

Section IV.

(*a*) The rapid success of Vespasian had well nigh ended the Jewish war. Jerusalem was the only place that held out. See the Appendix to Annals, xvi. s. 10; and the Appendix to Hist. v. s. 3.

Section VI.

(*a*) The Parthians were originally a people from Scythia: in process of time, when their empire grew in strength, they became the grand rivals of the Romans. The overthrow of Crassus is well known. Both nations experienced alternate disasters in the course of their various wars. See Annals, xv. s. 24 and 27.

(*b*) The last civil war was that between Vindex and Nero. See Appendix to Annals, xvi. s. 12.

(*c*) It will be proper, in this place, to state the names of the Roman legions, and the places where they were stationed. A short, but clear, account of this matter will help to remove the difficulties which might otherwise occur in the sequel of the history. Brotier has performed this useful task with his usual accuracy. See quarto edition, vol. iii. p. 408. A compendious view of what he has said on the subject will, perhaps, be acceptable; as it will show the whole strength of the empire in the important crisis now before us.

The names of the several legions were as follow:

1. Legio Prima, the first legion.

2. Legio Prima Italica, the first Italic legion, raised by Nero, as appears in Dio, lib. lv.

3. Legio Prima Adjutrix, an additional legion, according to Dio raised by Nero from the marines, and, for that reason, called *Legio Prima Adjutrix Classicorum.*

4. Legio Secunda, the second legion.

5. Legio Secunda Adjutrix, raised by Vespasian during the war with Vitellius.

6. Legio Tertia, the third legion, stationed in Syria.

7. Legio Tertia; another, called also the third, in Egypt.

8. Legio Tertia; another, stationed in Africa.

9. Legio Quarta, the fourth legion, called, to distinguish it from another fourth legion, *Legio Quarta Macedonica.*

10. Legio Quarta, another fourth legion, called, for the sake of distinction, *Legio Quarta Scythica.*

11. Legio Quinta, the fifth legion.

12. Legio Quinta Macedonica, the fifth legion, called the *Macedonian.*

13. Legio Sexta, the sixth legion, sometimes called *Legio Sexta Victrix.*

14. Legio Sexta Ferrata; another sixth legion, with the addition of *Ferrata,* to distinguish it from the former.

15. Legio Septima Claudiana, the seventh, called also the *Claudian.*

16. Legio Septima Galbiana, the seventh, called the *Galbian.*

17. Legio Octava, the eight legion, sometimes called *Invicta.*

18. Legio Nona, the ninth legion; sometimes called *Gemina,* because it was one legion formed out of two.

19. Legio Decima, the tenth legion, quartered in Spain.

20. Legio Decima, another tenth legion, quartered in Judæa.

21. Legio Undecima, the eleventh legion, sometimes with the additional title of *Claudiana.*

22. Legio Duodecima, the twelfth legion, sometimes called *Legio Duodecima Fulminea.*

23. Legio Tertia Decima, the thirteenth legion, called also Gemina, because composed of two united into one. Legio Quarta Decima, the fourteenth legion.

24. Legio Quinta Decima, the fifteenth legion, stationed in the Lower Germany.

25. Legio Quinta Decima, another fifteenth legion, quartered in Judæa, sometimes called *Legio Quinta Decima Apollinaris*

26. Legio Sexta Decima, the sixteenth legion.

27. Legio Septima Decima, the seventeenth legion, thought to be one of those that suffered in the slaughter of Varus.

28. Legio Duodevicessima, the eighteenth legion, another of the legions under Varus.

29. Legio Undevicessima, the ninteenth legion, another legion under Varus.

30. Legio Vicessima, the twentieth legion, called by Dio *Valeria Victrix*.

31. Legio Una-et-vicessima, the twenty-first legion, sometimes with the addition of *Rapax*.

32. Legio Duo-et-vicessima, the twenty-second legion, stationed in Germany.

33. Legio Duo-et-vicessima, another twenty-second legion, quartered in Egypt.

34. Legio e Classicis, a legion formed out of the marine soldiers by Vitellius in his last distress, but soon received into Vespasian's party, and never more distinguished.

Such were the names of the legions that occur in Tacitus. If, from the whole number, we deduct the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth, which were all cut off under Varus, and also the last, formed out of the marines by Vitellius, and heard of no more, it will appear that, in the beginning of the ensuing wars, the military establishment, exclusive of the forces in Italy, consisted of Thirty Legions. Their stations were as follows:

In Britain.

The second, ninth, twentieth.

In Spain.

The first Adjutrix, the sixth, the tenth.

In Gaul.

The first Italic.

In Lower Germany.

The first, fifth, fifteenth, sixteenth.

In Upper Germany.

The fourth, twenty-first, twenty-second.

In Pannonia.

The seventh Galbian, the thirteenth.

In Dalmatia.

The eleventh, the fourteenth.

In Mœsia.

The seventh Claudian, the eighth.

In Syria.

The third, fourth, sixth, twelfth.

In Judæa.

The fifth, tenth, fifteenth.

In Egypt.

The third, the twenty-second.

In Africa.

The third.

That so small a number of legions should be able not only to conquer but to keep in subjection the wide extent of the Roman world, might be matter of wonder, if we did not know the wisdom with which the legions were established, and the military discipline that was, for a number of ages, strictly maintained throughout the Roman armies. Brotier observes, that Marshal Saxe, whose extraordinary genius and great experience are universally known, was of opinion that France would do well to adopt the system of the Roman legions, and new model her armies on that admirable plan of discipline. See *Mémoires sur l'Infanterie, ou Traité des Légions, suivant l'Exemple des anciens Romains, par M. le Maréchal de Saxe.*

SECTION VIII.

(*a*) A number of impostors, at different times, assumed the name of Nero. See Suetonius, in Nero, s. 57.

SECTION IX.

(*a*) The same ferocity appeared in Nero's countenance after he was dead. See Appendix to Annals, xvi. s. 13.

SECTION X.

(*a*) His brother was Vibius Secundus; a man convicted of extortion, Annals, xiv. s. 28.

SECTION XI.

(*a*) See Annals, xiv. s. 29; Suetonius, in Nero, s. 39, 40.

(*b*) For the excellent character of Vestricius Spurinna, see Pliny, lib. ii. epist. 7; and lib. iii. epist. 1 and 10.

(*c*) Juvenal has given a different description of Otho on his march, sat. ii. ver. 99. But poetic license cannot weigh against the truth of history.

SECTION XII.

(*a*) For the maritime Alps, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Sixth Volume; and see Annals, xv. s. 32, note (*a*).

SECTION XVII.

(*a*) For Sylla's cavalry, see Hist. i. s. 70.

(*b*) The country between the Po and the Alps, comprising *Piedmont*, *Mont-ferrat*, the Milanese: the principal cities were, *Mediolanum*, *Novaria*, *Eporodia*, *Vercellæ*. See Hist. i. s. 70; and see the Geographical Table.

SECTION XX.

(*a*) Cæcina wore the *sagum*, which was the German dress (see The Manners of the Germans, s. 17), and the *braccæ*, or breeches, which distinguished the *Gauls*. The southern part of Gaul was called *Gallia Narbonensis*, and also *Braccata*.

SECTION XXIII.

(*a*) This village, which, according to Cluverius, stood at the distance of twenty miles from Cremona, and is now called

Caneto, has been rendered famous by the defeat of Otho, and afterwards, as will be seen in the third book of this History, by that of Vitellius.

Section XXIV.

(*a*) It appears in Suetonius, that the place which is called *Castorum* by Tacitus, was a spot where the Temple of Castor was built: *Otho tribus quidem, verum mediocribus prœliis, apud Alpes, circaque Placentiam, et ad Castoris* (SUPPLE TEMPLUM) *quod loco nomen est, vicit*. Sueton. in Othone, s. 9. It was about twelve miles from Cremona, between the Po and the Addua (now *Adda*).

Section XXV.

(*a*) Epiphanes was the son of Antiochus IV. king of Commagene, a district of Syria.

Section XXVII.

(*a*) Ticinum, a city built by the Transalpine Gauls on the river Ticinus, which is beautifully described by Silius Italicus in the following lines:

> Cæruleas Ticinus aquas et stagna vadoso
> Perspicuus servat turbari nescia fundo,
> Et nitidum viridi lente trahit amne liquorem;
> Vix credas labi, ripis tam mitis opacis
> Argutos inter, volucrum certamina, cantus
> Somniferam ducit lucenti gurgite lympham.
>
> De Bello Punico, lib. iv. ver. 82.

It may be doubted, however, whether this description is strictly true. Mr. Addison says, he does not know why the poet has represented it as so very gentle and still a river, as the bishop of Salisbury ran down with the stream thirty miles in an hour, by the help of but one rower.

Section XXIX.

(*a*) The people of Vienne were obliged to purchase the protection of Valens. Hist. i. s. 66.

(*b*) In an army, where all alike from the highest to the lowest committed the most violent outrages, the soldiers knew no subordination. Guilt, when widely spread, levels all distinction. Lucan truly observes,

—— Facinus, quos inquinat, æquat.

PHARSAL. lib. v. ver. 290.

SECTION XXX.

(*a*) Cæcina was admired by his soldiers for those agreeable secondary qualities, which often gain the affections of the multitude. Corbulo, the great commander, who is so much extolled by Tacitus, united to his superior talents the specious trifles that conciliate favour. *Super experientiam sapientiamque, etiam specie inanium validus.* Annals, xiii. s. 8.

SECTION XXXI.

(*a*) Vitellius was of so sluggish a disposition, that he seemed to act under the direction of others, not from the impulse of his own mind.

SECTION XXXIV.

(*a*) It has been already mentioned, that Otho had in his army two thousand gladiators; a disgraceful expedient, says Tacitus, but in civil wars adopted by the ablest generals. *Deforme auxilium, sed per civilia arma etiam severis ducibus usurpatum.* See this book, s. xi.

SECTION XXXVII.

(*a*) For the conduct of Suetonius Paulinus, and the brilliant success of his arms in Britain, see Annals, xiv. from section 29 to 40.

SECTION XXXVIII.

(*a*) Sallust has a similar observation: *Natura mortalium avida imperii, et præceps ad explendam animi cupidinem.* De Bell. Jugurth. s. 6. The sequel of this section, in which the

progress of the human passions and the causes of civil commotion are unfolded, has some resemblance to a passage in Lucan, which has been quoted in a former note.

Namque ut opes nimias mundo fortuna subacto
Intulit, &c.
Et cum consulibus turbantes jura tribuni.
* * * * * * * PHARSAL. lib. i. ver. 160.

SECTION XXXIX.

(*a*) Brotier observes, that the place to which the Othonians advanced is now called *Tor Anzolini*, between the rivers *Ollio* and *Dermona*.

SECTION XL.

(*a*) The Addua (now *Adda*) falls into the Po, about six miles to the west of Cremona.

(*b*) The taste for show and splendour was so great, that none, who, in that age, were what we now call people of fashion, chose to appear on the Appian or Flaminian road, or to make an excursion to their villas, without a train of Numidians mounted on the swift horses of their country, to ride before their carriages, and give notice, by a cloud of dust, that a great man was on the road. For this fact we are indebted to Seneca, who says, *Omnes jam sic peregrinantur, ut illos Numidarum præcurrat equitatus, atque ut agmen cursorum antecedat: turpe est, nullos esse, qui occurrentes viâ dejiciant; qui honestum hominem venire magno pulvere ostendant*. Seneca, epist. 123.

SECTION XLII.

(*a*) Suetonius expressly says, that Otho, in the last engagement at Bedriacum, was defeated by a stratagem. His soldiers were called out to be present at a general pacification, and, in the very act of saluting the Vitellian army, were suddenly attacked. Sueton. Life of Otho, s. 9.

Section XLIII.

(*a*) For the twenty-first legion called *Rapax*, see this book, s. 6, note (*c*).

Section XLIV.

(*a*) In the civil wars no prisoners were made, to be afterwards sold to slavery; and, by consequence, no quarter was given. Plutarch, in his account of this battle, describes a most dreadful carnage. See the Life of Otho.

Section XLVI.

(*a*) We have here a noble sentiment, in direct opposition to the stoic doctrine of suicide.

Section XLVII.

(*a*) Tacitus has told us, that Otho's mind was not, like his body, dissolved in luxury. *Non erat Othonis mollis, et corpori similis animus.* Hist. i. s. 22. His speech upon this occasion shows that he could think with dignity. See Suetonius, Life of Otho, s. 10.

Section XLVIII.

(*a*) Augustus, Tiberius, and Caligula, were of the Julian line; Claudius, and Nero (by adoption) were of the Claudian; Galba was of the house of Servius; Otho, of the Salvian family.

Section XLIX.

(*a*) This was Verginius Rufus, who conquered Vindex in Gaul, and had the moderation to decline the imperial dignity when offered to him by the legions. See Appendix to Annals, xvi. s. 12.

(*b*) Nero, in his last distress, fearing that his head would be exhibited as a public spectacle, gave directions for his funeral. Otho did the same: though tainted with Nero's vices, he closed the scene with dignity.

(*c*) Plutarch tells us, that he himself visited Otho's tomb at Brixellum. Those perishable materials have long since mouldered away; but the epitaph, written by Martial, will never die. The poet admits that Otho led a dissolute life; but adds, that, in his end, he was no way inferior to Cato.

Dum dubitaret adhuc belli civilis Enyo,
  Forsitan et posset vincere mollis Otho;
Damnavit multo staturum sanguine Martem,
  Et fodit certâ pectora nuda manu.
Sit Cato dum vivit, sanè vel Cæsare major;
  Dum moritur, numquid major Othone fuit?
Lib. vi. epig. 31.

SECTION L.

(*a*) See Annals, xiii. s. 46; Hist. i. s. 13; and Suetonius and Plutarch.

(*b*) Regium was about fifteen miles from Brixellum, where Otho breathed his last.

(*c*) See Suetonius, in Vesp. s. 5.

SECTION LIII.

(*a*) Eprius Marcellus was the inveterate enemy of Pætus Thrasea. Annals, xvi. s. 22 and 28.

SECTION LIV.

(*a*) The passports, called *Diplomata Othonis*, were granted for the protection of travellers and messengers. See Pliny, lib. x. epist. 14 and 54.

SECTION LV.

(*a*) The festival of Ceres began on the 19th of April. See Annals, xv. s. 53.

SECTION LVII.

(*a*) For more of Asiaticus, see Suetonius, in Vitel. s. 12.

SECTION LVIII.

(a) For Mauritania, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Sixth Volume.

(b) The Straits of Gibraltar.

SECTION LIX.

(a) The Arar, now the Soane. See Annals, xiii. s. 53.

(b) For the extreme poverty of Vitellius, see Suet. in Vitel. s. 7.

SECTION LX.

(a) Cæcilius Simplex was consul when Vitellius, finding his affairs utterly ruined, was willing to abdicate. Hist. iii. s. 68. For an account of the consuls in the course of this year, see Hist. i. s. 77, note (a).

SECTION LXI.

(a) The seditious were generally given to be devoured by wild beasts. That was deemed the punishment due to pernicious citizens.

SECTION LXII.

(a) Whoever desires to know more of Vitellius's gluttony, may find a number of particular instances collected by Brotier, in his 4to edition of Tacitus, vol. iii. page 433.

SECTION LXIII.

(a) This was Lucius Vitellius, whom we have seen with the senators at Bononia. This book, s. liv.

SECTION LXIV.

(a) Petronia was the first wife of Vitellius. Suet. in Vitel. s. 6.

(b) For Sextilia, the mother of Vitellius, see Suet. in Vitel. s. 3.

(c) See Suetonius in the place last quoted.

SECTION LXV.

(*a*) Lucius Arruntius was appointed governor of Spain by Tiberius, and for ten years after detained at Rome. Annals, vi. s. 27.

(*b*) Trebellius Maximus commanded in Britain, and was obliged to save himself by flight from the fury of the soldiers. Hist. i. s. 60.

(*c*) For Vettius Bolanus, see the Life of Agricola, s. 8 and 16.

SECTION LXVI.

(*a*) See the Geographical Table at the end of the Sixth Volume.

(*b*) For the Graian Alps, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Sixth Volume.

SECTION LXIX.

(*a*) The foreign war was with the Batavians, under Civilis; the domestic, with Vespasian.

SECTION LXX.

(*a*) This was the 24th of May.

SECTION LXXI.

(*a*) Valens and Cæcina entered on their joint consulship on the calends of November. See Hist. i. s. 77, and note (*a*).

(*b*) Martius Macer commanded Otho's gladiators on the banks of the Po. This book, s. 23.

SECTION LXXII.

(*a*) Sulpicius Camerinus and his son were put to death by order of Helius, Nero's freedman, A. U. C. 820. See the Appendix to Annals xvi. s. 9.

(*b*) The slaves were condemned to suffer death on a cross.

SECTION LXXIV.

(*a*) Vespasian's two sons, Titus and Domitian.

Section LXXV.

(*a*) Furius Camillus Scribonianus raised a rebellion in Dalmatia, in the reign of Claudius, and was soon after slain, A. U. C. 795.

Section LXXVI.

(*a*) Corbulo was put to death by Nero. See Appendix to Annals, xvi. s. 11.

Section LXXVII.

(*a*) In the reign of Claudius, Vespasian had obtained triumphal ornaments for his conduct in Britain. Suet. in Vesp. s. 4.

(*b*) Titus had served in the rank of military tribune in Britain as well as Germany, and gave early proofs of the modest merit that distinguished his character. Suet. in Tito, s. 4.

Section LXXVIII.

(*a*) For a number of oracles and prodigies, see Suet. in Vesp. s. 5 and 7.

(*b*) For Mount Carmel, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Sixth Volume.

Section LXXX.

(*a*) In this passage Tacitus, perhaps, had his eye upon the character of Scipio, as drawn by Livy. *Fuit enim Scipio, non veris tantum virtutibus mirabilis, sed arte quâdam ab juventâ in ostentationem earum compositus.* Livy, lib. xxvi. s. 19.

Section LXXXI.

(*a*) Sohemus, king of the country called *Sophene*. Annals, xiii. s. 7. Antiochus, king of Commagene. Annals, xii. s. 55. Agrippa II, king of part of Judæa. Annals, xiii. s. 7. Berenice, sister to Agrippa, famous for her love of Titus. See Appendix to Hist. v.

(*b*) For Berytus, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Sixth Volume.

SECTION LXXXII.

(*a*) For the conduct of Titus, and the progress of his arms against the Jews, see Appendix to Hist. v. s. 21.

SECTION LXXXIV.

(*a*) Vespasian, in the height of his power, did not scruple to raise large sums of money by severe exactions; but the apology for his avarice was the liberal spirit with which he adorned Rome and Italy with grand and useful works. See Suet. in Vesp. s. 16.

SECTION LXXXV.

(*a*) For Apronius Saturninus and Tertius Julianus, see Hist. i. s. 79.

SECTION LXXXVI.

(*a*) Primus Antonius, now the leader of Vespasian's armies, was formerly convicted of extortion. See Annals, xiv. s. 18.

SECTION LXXXIX.

(*a*) Vitellius's mother, Sextilia. See this book, s. 64.

SECTION XCI.

(*a*) The defeat at Cremera, a river in Tuscany (now *La Varca*), was A. U. C. 277. At Allia (now *Torrente di Catino*) the Roman army was put to the sword by the Gauls, under Brennus, A. U. C. 364. The slaughter was so great, that the day on which it happened (*Dies Alliensis*) was marked as unlucky in the calendar, and according to Cicero, thought more fatal than that on which the city of Rome was taken.

(*b*) The assemblies, in which the consuls were created, are mentioned by Suetonius, in Vitel. s. 11. For the manner in which that business was conducted by the emperor Trajan, see Pliny's Panegyric, s. 63.

(*c*) Vitellius, in the time of Nero, passed his time among pantomime actors, charioteers, and wrestlers. Suet. in Vitel. s. 4 and 12.

(*d*) Helvidius Priscus often mentioned, Annals, xii. xiii. xvi; and Life of Agricola, s. 2, note (*a*).

(*e*) Pætus Thrasea, Annals, xiv. s. 12; xvi. s. 21; Appendix to Annals, xvi. s. 1.

Section XCIII.

(*a*) The lands round the Vatican were covered with stagnated water, and the air, of course, was unwholesome. St. Peter's church stands there at present; but Brotier says, the cardinals never reside in that quarter.

(*b*) Before the augmentation, the prætorian cohorts (that is, those that were encamped near Rome,) were only nine; the city-guard consisted of three, called *Cohortes Urbanæ*. Annals, iv. s. 5.

Section XCV.

(*a*) The birth-day of Vitellius is left uncertain. Suetonius, in Vitel. s. 3, says it was the eighth of the calends of October, or according to others, the seventh of the ides of September, in the consulship of Drusus Cæsar and Norbanus Flaccus, A. U. C. 768.

(*b*) An order of priests was established by Romulus in honour of Tatius the Sabine king, A. U. C. 7. Annals, i. s. 54.

(*c*) Mucianus was the active partisan of Vespasian (this book, s. 76). Eprius Marcellus, a man who raised himself by his flagitious deeds (Annals, xvi. s. 28), was the favourite minister under Vespasian. See the Dialogue concerning Oratory, s. 8.

Section XCVII.

(*a*) Hordeonius Flaccus was appointed by Galba to the command on the Upper Rhine, in the room of Verginius Rufus. See Appendix to Annals, xvi. s. 12.

(*b*) For the war in which Flaccus was engaged with Civilis, the Batavian chief, see Hist. iv. s. 18.

(*c*) Suetonius gives a different account of Vespasian's administration in Africa. In Vesp. s. 4.

Section XCVIII.

(*a*) For the Pannonian Alps, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Sixth Volume.

Section C.

(*a*) Brotier thinks that there is a mistake in the text. The fourteenth legion, he observes, stood firm for Otho, and, for that reason, was sent into Britain. But perhaps the veterans, who had served their time, and were still retained in the service, were left in Italy.

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(*a*) Mephitis was the goddess worshipped in all places that sent forth noxious exhalations. Hence we read in Virgil,

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(*a*) The plains of Verona are now called *Campagna di Verona.*

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(*a*) For Hostilia, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Sixth Volume.

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(*a*) Ampius Flavianus has been already mentioned; this book, s. 4; and Hist. ii. s. 86.

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(*a*) The display of clothes and sacerdotal vestments in the act of suing for peace has been mentioned, Hist. i. s. 66.

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(*a*) Mephitis was the goddess worshipped in all places that sent forth noxious exhalations. Hence we read in Virgil,

——— Sævamque exhalat opaca Mephitim.

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(*a*) Whoever is curious about the distinctions between what the Romans called *Connubium* and *Matrimonium*, with the different ceremonies observed in each, may consult Brotier's Tacitus, quarto edition, vol. ii. p. 456.

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SECTION VII.

(*a*) See the second book of the History, s. 6, note (*c*).

(*b*) After the calamities occasioned by Otho and Vitellius, the memory of Galba was held in high respect by the people.

SECTION VIII.

(*a*) The plains of Verona are now called *Campagna di Verona.*

(*b*) Vicetia, now *Vicenza;* see the Geographical Table at the end of the Sixth Volume.

(*c*) The Julian Alps, the same as the Pannonian. See the Geographical Table.

(*d*) Egypt was the Roman granary of corn; and Pliny the younger says, that the people of that country were proud to find that the conquerers of the world depended on them for their daily maintenance. *Superbiebat ventosa et insolens natio, quod victorem populum pasceret; quodque in suo flumine, in suis manibus, vel abundantia nostra vel fames esset.* Pliny's Panegyric, s. 31.

SECTION IX.

(*a*) For Hostilia, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Sixth Volume.

(*b*) The river Tartarus, now *Le Tartare.*

(*c*) The forces under Vitellius are enumerated, Hist. ii. s. 100. Antonius had as yet under his command three legions only.

Section X.

(*a*) Ampius Flavianus has been already mentioned; this book, s. 4; and Hist. ii. s. 86.

(*b*) This prayer of Antonius resembles the following line in Virgil:

Dii meliora piis, erroremque hostibus illum.

Georgic. iii. ver. 513.

(*c*) This passage seems to have been misunderstood by some of the commentators. They observe that there was not sufficient time for Vespasian to receive intelligence, and return an answer favourable to Flavianus; but they might have recollected, that he who had a long journey to make, most probably received the letters in question at some place on the road.

Section XII.

(*a*) For Lucilius Bassus, see Hist. ii. s. 100.

(*b*) For Atria, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Sixth Volume.

Section XIII.

(*a*) The part of the camp called *Principia* was the place where the Eagles were deposited. Statius has a similar passage:

——— Concilii penetrale, domumque verendam
Signorum. Theb. lib. x. ver. 120.

(*b*) Antonius had been convicted of extortion, and for that offence sent into banishment. Annals, xiv. s. 40.

Section XVII.

(*a*) The river called *Dermona*. See the Geographical Table at the end of the Sixth Volume.

SECTION XVIII.

(*a*) The twenty-first legion called *Rapax*, and the first called *Italic*, fought on the side of Vitellius. See Hist. ii. s. 100.

SECTION XXII.

(*a*) It appears from this, that the first centurion, *Primipili Centurio*, was the Eagle-bearer.

SECTION XXIII.

(*a*) The warlike engine, called *Balista*, is described by Vegetius, lib. iv. s. 22.

SECTION XXIV.

(*a*) Mark Anthony gained a victory over the Parthians, A. U. C. 718. Dio, lib. xlix. For Corbulo's success in Armenia, see Annals, xv.

(*b*) The Eastern nations worshipped the rising sun. The Parthians are described in that act of devotion by Herodian, lib. iv. cap. 15.

SECTION XXVII.

(*a*) For Brixia, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Sixth Volume.

SECTION XXVIII.

(*a*) Pliny the elder was a considerable historian, as appears from Pliny the consul, lib. iii. epist. 5.

SECTION XXIX.

(*a*) The military shell was so condensed, that the darts of the enemy could make no impression. Whoever is curious about the form of the Testudo, and other warlike engines employed in sieges, may consult Lucan, lib. iii. v. 474.

(*b*) Josephus says, that above thirty thousand of the Vitellians were put to the sword, and of Vespasian's army about four thousand five hundred. De Bello Jud. lib. iv. cap. 11.

SECTION XXXI.

(*a*) The display of clothes and sacerdotal vestments in the act of suing for peace has been mentioned, Hist. i. s. 66.

SECTION XXXIII.

(*a*) Mephitis was the goddess worshipped in all places that sent forth noxious exhalations. Hence we read in Virgil,

——— Sævamque exhalat opaca Mephitim.

ÆNEID. lib. vii. ver. 84.

SECTION XXXIV.

(*a*) Whoever is curious about the distinctions between what the Romans called *Connubium* and *Matrimonium*, with the different ceremonies observed in each, may consult Brotier's Tacitus, quarto edition, vol. ii. p. 456.

SECTION XXXVI.

(*a*) For Aricia, and the neighbouring grove, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Sixth Volume.

SECTION XXXVII.

(*a*) The consulship, in the time of the republic, was an annual office; but Julius Cæsar, in haste to reward his friends, shortened the duration of the office, and advanced several to that dignity within the year. He was himself sole consul, A. U. C. 709; he resigned in favour of Fabius Maximus and Caius Trebonius Nepos. The former dying on the very last day of the year, he appointed Caninius Rebulus to fill the remaining space. Cicero laughs at the short-lived dignity. In that consulship, he says, no man had time to dine, and no kind of mischief happened. The consul was a man of so much vigilance, that he did not allow himself a wink of sleep. *Caninio consule, scito neminem prandisse; nihil tamen, eo consule, mali factum est. Fuit enim mirificâ vigilantiâ, qui suo consulatu somnum non viderit.* Cicero ad Familiares, lib. vii. epist. 30.

SECTION XLI.

(*a*) For Ariminum, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Sixth Volume.

(*b*) See the Geographical Table.

SECTION XLII.

(*a*) For Picenum, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Sixth Volume.

(*b*) Sinus Pisanus, now the *Gulf of Pisa.*

(*c*) Portus Herculis Monæci, now called *Monaco.*

SECTION XLIII.

(*a*) For the Stæchades, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Sixth Volume.

SECTION XLV.

(*a*) For Caractacus, and Cartismandua queen of the Brigantes, see Annals, xii. s. 32 to 36.

SECTION XLVI.

(*a*) The war with Civilis, the Batavian; for which see Hist. iv. s. 12.

(*b*) According to Josephus, Fonteius Agrippa was afterwards murdered by the Sarmatians. Bell. Jud. lib. vii. cap. 4.

SECTION XLVII.

(*a*) Polemon was made king of Pontus by Caligula; and, after his death, the kingdom was changed by Nero into a Roman province. Suetonius, in Nero, s. 18.

(*b*) Now *Trebizonde.*

(*c*) By granting the freedom of the city, the Romans drew distant colonies into a close alliance.

(*d*) These canoes were so light, that the barbarians could carry them on their shoulders, and traverse wood sand forests without being fatigued with their load. The savages of America, and the Greenlanders, have boats bound together with twigs and osiers, without the use of brass or iron.

SECTION XLVIII.

(*a*) The river *Cohibus*, Brotier says, ought to be called *Cobum*, being the same mentioned by the elder Pliny, lib. vi. s. 4. *Flumen Cobum è Caucaso per Suanos fluens*. It discharges itself into the Euxine.

(*b*) The commentators agree that there is here an error in the text; instead of *Sedochezorum regis*, the true reading is, *Sub Sedochi Lazorum regis auxilio*. The *Lazi* were a people of Sarmatia, on the east side of the Euxine.

SECTION L.

(*a*) *Fanum Fortunæ*, now *Fano*, a port town of *Urbino*, on the Adriatic.

(*b*) *Clavarium* was a donative granted to the soldiers to enable them to purchase nails for their shoes. In like manner the donative for shoes was called *Calcearium*. Suetonius in Vespas. s. 8.

SECTION LI.

(*a*) *Janiculum*, a high hill at Rome, but not one of the seven; now called *Monte Gianicolo*, and more commonly *Montorio*. The story of a soldier killing his brother in battle, and on the discovery dispatching himself, is told by Valerius Maximus, lib. v. cap. 5, s. 4, but attributed to a soldier under Sertorius. See Livy's Epitome, lib. lxxix.

SECTION LII.

(*a*) Plotius Griphus was one of the friends of Statius the poet, as appears from a poem in the Sylvæ, lib. iv. inscribed to him.

SECTION LV.

(*a*) For Mevania, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Sixth Volume.

SECTION LVII.

(*a*) For Minturnæ, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Sixth Volume.

(*b*) Puteolanum, now *Pozzuolo*.

SECTION LVIII.

(*a*) For Narnia, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Sixth Volume.

(*b*) The people of Rome were divided into five-and-thirty tribes.

SECTION LIX.

(*a*) For Mevania, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Sixth Volume.

(*b*) For Samnis, the Marsi, and Peligni, see the Geographical Table.

SECTION LX.

(*a*) Carsulæ. See the Geographical Table at the end of the Sixth Volume.

SECTION LXI.

(*a*) For Interamna, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Sixth Volume.

(*b*) Julius Priscus and Alphenus Varus, sent by Vitellius to take possession of the Apennine mountains. See this book, s. 55.

SECTION LXII.

(*a*) For Urbinum, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Sixth Volume.

(*b*) See Annals, xiv. s. 15; xvi. s. 21.

(*c*) See History, i. s. 7.

(*d*) See History, i. s. 52.

SECTION LXV.

(*a*) He lent his money to Vespasian on a mortgage of his house and lands. See Suetonius, in Vesp. s. 4.

(*b*) The Temple of Apollo was on Mount Palatine, where Augustus formed a library. Horace says,

Scripta Palatinus quæcumque recepit Apollo.

(*c*) That an agreement was made between Vitellius and Flavius Sabinus, the brother of Vespasian, appears in Suetonius, in Vitel. s. 15. Cluvius Rufus had been governor of a province in Spain; a man of eloquence and great accomplishments, but void of military talents. See Hist. i. s. 8.

(*d*) Silius Italicus, the celebrated poet, was consul A. U. C. 821. See Appendix to Annals, xvi. s. 12.

Section LXVI.

(*a*) If Vespasian suffered Vitellius to survive his grandeur, and live a private citizen, men would ascribe it to pride and arrogance, and the vanquished would not submit to see their emperor a living reproach to their whole party; and, consequently, Vitellius would be in danger from the commiseration of his friends.

(*b*) Vitellius had great weight and influence in the reign of Claudius. Vespasian, at that time, paid his court to the favourite, and also to Narcissus, the emperor's freedman. See Suet. in Vespas. s. 4.

Section LXVII.

(*a*) Vitellius abdicated on the 18th of December, A. U. C. 822, after a few months of anarchy, plunder, and massacre.

(*b*) See Suetonius, in Vitellio, s. 15. Juvenal describes the same scene; but, according to him, Sextilia, the mother of Vitellius, was one of the melancholy train. Tacitus says she did not live to see the sad catastrophe.

——————— Horrida mater,
Pullati proceres. Sat. iii. ver. 213.

Section LXVIII.

(*a*) We have seen that Cæcilius Simplex was impatient to arrive at the consular dignity, insomuch that he was accused in the senate of a design to purchase it, in the room of Marius Celsus. He did not succeed, but Vitellius afterwards gratified his ambition without a bribe. Hist. ii. s. 60. See the list of consuls for this year, Hist. i. s. 77.

(*b*) The Temple of Concord was burnt to the ground in the fire of the capitol, related hereafter in this book, s. lxxi. Brotier says, it was afterwards rebuilt, as appears by an inscription still to be seen among the ruins.

SENATUS POPULUSQUE ROMANUS
INCENDIO CONSUMPTUM RESTITUIT.

SECTION LXIX.

(*a*) A Fundane lake, now called *Lago di Fundi*, is mentioned by Pliny, lib. iii. s. 5. But the lake now in question was in the city of Rome, near the *Mons Quirinalis*. Brotier says there were at least a thousand of those lakes at Rome, which ought more properly to be called fountains.

(*b*) The curious may consult a Genealogical Table of Vespasian's family in Brotier's Tacitus, 4to edit. vol. iii. p. 383.

SECTION LXX.

(*a*) Domitian, who was born on the 9th of the calends of November, or the 24th of October, A. U. C. 814. Suet. in Domit. s. 1.

SECTION LXXI.

(*a*) The Forum was surrounded by a number of Temples; such as, the Temple of FORTUNE, of JUPITER TONANS, of SATURN, the Temple of CONCORD, and several others.

(*b*) The citadel of the capitol, in which was the Temple of JUPITER CAPITOLINUS, stood near the Tarpeian rock.

(*c*) The *Lucus Asyli* was so called, because it was made a sanctuary by Romulus to invite a conflux of foreigners to his new state. It stood between the two rocks of the Capitoline Hill, on one of which was built the Temple of JUPITER CAPITOLINUS; on the other, the Temple of FERETRIAN JOVE. Brotier says, that in the place of the grove there is now erected the *Piazza del Campidoglio*.

(*d*) The Tarpeian rock, with its hundred steps, was on the west side of the Capitoline Hill; and from that eminence malefactors were thrown headlong into the Tiber.

(*e*) Pliny the elder says, the capitol was set on fire by the Vitellians, lib. xxxiv. s. 7. Josephus gives the same account, Bell. Jud. lib. iv. cap. 11; and Dio agrees with them both, lib. lxv.

Section LXXII.

(*a*) When Tarquin the proud was laying the foundation of a temple, the men employed in digging the ground found a human skull; and this was interpreted to be the pledge of empire, an auspicious omen, that Rome would be the mistress of the world. *Nec dubitavere cuncti monstrum pulcherrimum imperii sedem caputque terrarum promittere.* Florus, lib. i. cap. 7.

(*b*) It is not strictly true that Porsena became master of the city. He was at the gates, but, instead of advancing, received hostages, and raised the siege. Florus, lib. i. cap. 10.

(*c*) The city was taken by the Gauls, A. U. C. 364. See Annals, xi. s. 24.

(*d*) In the civil war between Sylla and Marius, the capitol was destroyed by fire, A. U. C. 671. The Sibylline books perished in the flames. See Appian, Bell. Civ. lib. i.

(*e*) Suessa Pometia, a city of ancient Latium, about fifty miles from Rome, on the Appian road. The very ruins have perished.

(*f*) Horatius Pulvillus was consul with Valerius Publicola, A. U. C. 247, about three years after the expulsion of Tarquin.

(*g*) Lucius Scipio and Caius Norbanus were consuls, A. U. C. 671. The capitol was then consumed by fire; not, however, occasioned by an open act of violence, but rather by the hands of clandestine incendiaries. Sylla undertook to rebuild the capitol, but did not dedicate it. *Hoc felicitati suæ defuisse confessus est, quod capitolium non dedicavisset.* Pliny, lib. vii. s. 43.

(*h*) Lutatius Catulus was consul with Æmilius Lepidus, A. U. C. 676; before the Christian æra 78.

SECTION LXXIII.

(*a*) Quinctius Atticus and Alienus Cæcina were consuls from the first of November to the end of the year. See the first book of this History, s. 77.

SECTION LXXVI.

(*a*) For Feronia, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Sixth Volume.

SECTION LXXVII.

(*a*) The custom of sending the news of victory, in a letter bound with laurel, has been mentioned in a former note.

SECTION LXXVIII.

(*a*) For Ocriculum, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Sixth Volume.

(*b*) The Saturnalian festival began on the 17th of December.

(*c*) For the *Via Salaria*, see the Geographical Table.

SECTION LXXIX.

(*a*) For *Saxa Rubra*, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Sixth Volume.

(*b*) For Fidenæ, see the Geographical Table.

SECTION LXXX.

(*a*) For Arulenus Rusticus, see Annals, xvi. s. 26; and Life of Agricola, s. 2.

SECTION LXXXI.

(*a*) Musonius Rufus has occurred, Annals, xiv. s. 59; and Annals, xv. s. 71.

(*b*) The procession of the Vestal virgins is mentioned by Suetonius, in Vitel. s. 16. They received for answer, that by the murder of Sabinus, and the fire of the capitol, all negotia-

tion was inadmissible. *Diremptu belli commercia.* Virgil has used the same expression.

——————— Belli commercia Turnus
Sustulit ista prior, jam tum pallante perempto.
ÆNEID. lib. x. ver. 532.

SECTION LXXXII.

(*a*) For Pons Milvius, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Sixth Volume.

SECTION LXXXIII.

(*a*) Speaking of the wars of Cinna and Sylla, Florus says: The last grievous calamity that befel the Romans, was a war waged by parricides within the walls of Rome, in which citizens were engaged against citizens, with the rage of gladiators exhibiting a spectacle in the forum. *Hoc deerat unum populi Romani malis, jam ut ipse intra se parricidale bellum domi stringeret, et in urbe mediâ, ac foro, quasi arenâ, cives cum civibus suis, gladiatorio more, concurrerent.* Florus, lib. iii. cap. 21.

SECTION LXXXIV.

(*a*) The camp of the prætorian guards, a little way out of the city of Rome, first devised by Sejanus in the time of Tiberius. Annals, iv. s. 2.

SECTION LXXXV.

(*a*) The porter's lodge. See Suetonius, in Vitel. s. 16 and 17.

(*b*) Dio relates this incident with a small variance. According to him, the German soldier said, I will give you the best assistance in my power; and thereupon he stabbed Vitellius, and dispatched himself. Dio, lib. lxv.

(*c*) Gemoniæ, the charnel of malefactors. See Suet. in Vitel. s. 7.

SECTION LXXXVI.

(*a*) Vitellius owed much to the illustrious name of his father; but it appears that he advanced himself in the road to honours by the obsequious arts which he practised under Caligula, Claudius, and Nero. See Suetonius, in Vitel. s. 4.

END OF THE FOURTH VOLUME.

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